

"We do not take possession of our ideas but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

The ARENA

EDITED BY
B. O. FLOWER.

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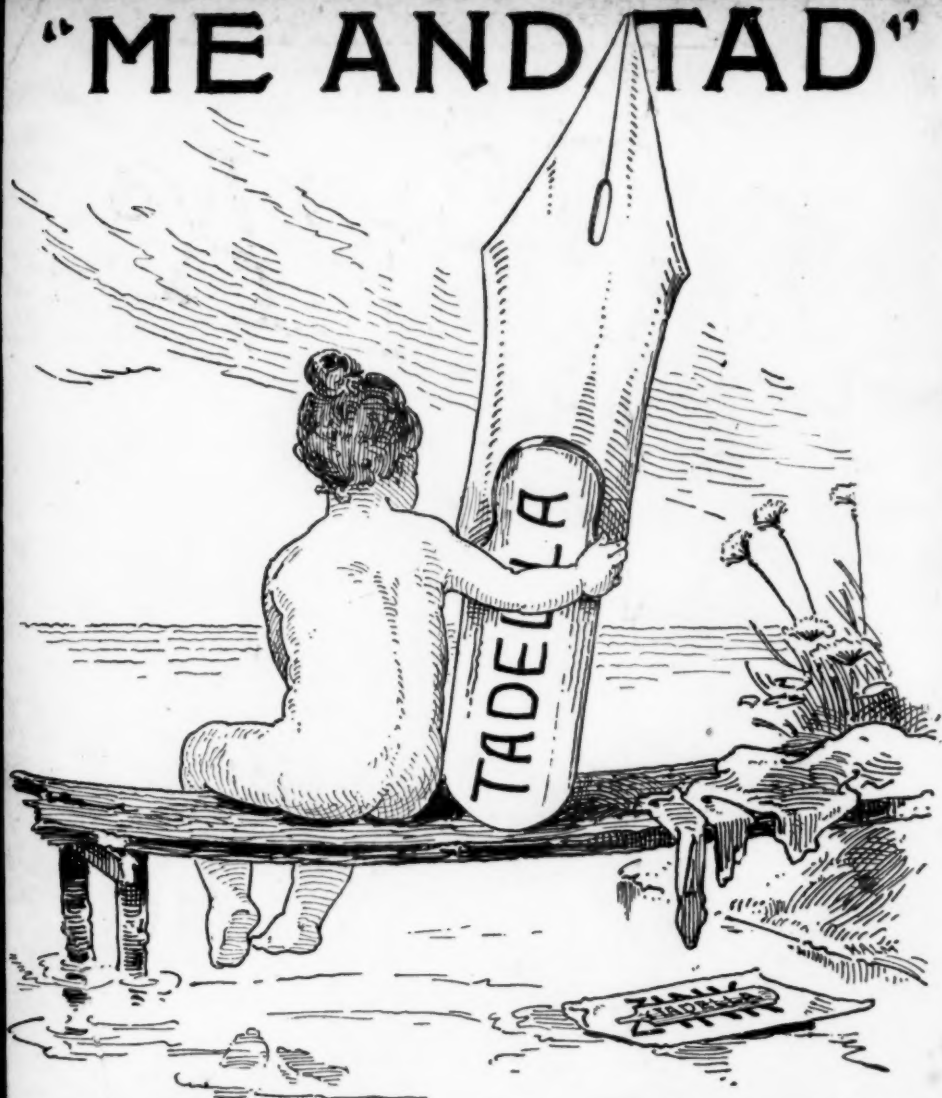
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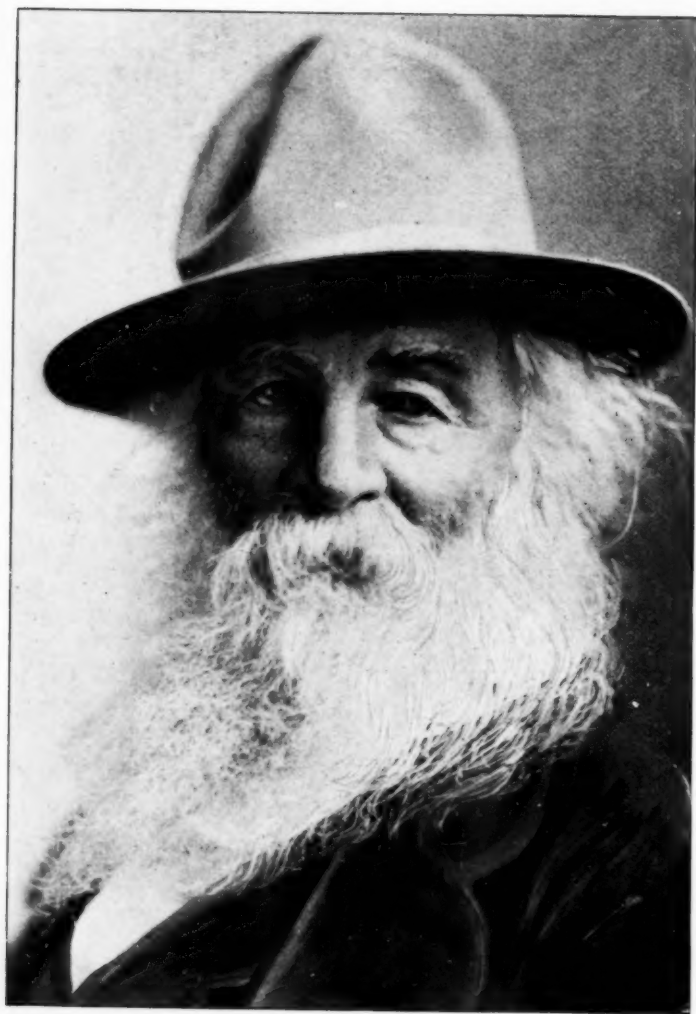
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Walt. Whitman

THE ARENA.

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SEPTEMBER, 1894.

THE RELIGION OF WALT WHITMAN'S POEMS.

BY M. J. SAVAGE.

FORTUNATELY for me, I need not address myself to the task of trying to settle the much-vexed question as to Whitman's place among the poets. The most various and mutually exclusive opinions are held and confidently expressed concerning him. He is not a poet at all; he is among the very greatest. His books are suppressed as being immoral; he is the Christ of the nineteenth century. Such and so contradictory are the outcries. But, putting aside both the abuse and worship, let us essay the humbler *rôle* of listening and trying to interpret some of the things he has to say concerning the most important of human themes. To give us heart for the task and to make it seem worth while, we will stop to note what another has to say on the subject. These are the words in which the famous English scholar, Mr. John Addington Symonds, closes his book, "A Study of Walt Whitman":—

After all, the great thing is, if possible, to induce people to study Whitman for themselves. I am convinced that, especially for young men, his spirit, if intelligently understood and sympathized with, must be productive of incalculable good. This I venture to emphasize by relating what he did for me. I had received the ordinary English gentleman's education at Harrow and Oxford. Being physically below the average in health and strength, my development proceeded more upon the intellectual than the athletic side. In a word, I was decidedly academical, and in danger of becoming a prig. What was more, my constitution in the year 1865 seemed to have broken down, and no career in life lay open to me. In the autumn of that

year, my friend Frederic Myers read me aloud a poem from "Leaves of Grass." We were together in his rooms at Trinity College, Cambridge, and I can well remember the effect of his sonorous voice rolling out sentence after sentence, sending electric thrills through the very marrow of my mind.* I immediately procured the Boston edition of 1860-61, and began to study it attentively.

It cannot be denied that much in Whitman puzzled and repelled me. But it was the æsthetic, not the moral, sensibility that suffered; for I felt at once that his method of treating sexual things (the common stumbling-block to beginners) was the right one, and wished that I had come across "Children of Adam" several years earlier. My academical prejudices, the literary instincts trained by two decades of Greek and Latin studies, the refinements of culture and the exclusiveness of aristocratic breeding, revolted against the uncouthness, roughness, irregularity, coarseness, of the poet and his style. But, in course of a short time, Whitman delivered my soul of these debilities. As I have elsewhere said in print, he taught me to comprehend the harmony between the democratic spirit, science and that larger religion to which the modern world is being led by the conception of human brotherhood, and by the spirituality inherent in any really scientific view of the universe. He gave body, concrete vitality, to the religious creed which I had already been forming for myself upon the study of Goethe, Greek and Roman Stoics, Giordano Bruno, and the founders of the evolutionary doctrine. He inspired me with faith, and made me feel that optimism was not unreasonable. This gave me great cheer in those evil years of enforced idleness and intellectual torpor which my health imposed upon me.

Moreover, he helped to free me from any conceits and pettinesses to which academical culture is liable. He opened my eyes to the beauty, goodness and greatness which may be found in all worthy human beings, the humblest and the highest. He made me respect personality more than attainments or position in the world. Through him, I stripped my soul of social prejudices. Through him I have been able to fraternize in comradeship with men of all classes and several races, irrespective of their caste, creed, occupation and special training. To him I owe some of the best friends I now can claim — sons of the soil, hard workers, "natural and nonchalant," "powerful uneducated persons."

Only those who have been condemned by imperfect health to take a back seat in life so far as physical enjoyments are concerned, and who have also chosen the career of literary study, can understand what is meant by the deliverance from foibles besetting invalids and pedants for which I have to thank Walt Whitman.

What he has done for me, I feel he will do for others — for each and all of those who take counsel with him, and seek from him a solution of difficulties differing in kind according to the temper of the individual — if only they approach him in the right spirit of confidence and openmindedness.

* It was a piece from "Calamus," beginning "Long I thought that that knowledge alone would suffice me." Curiously enough, this has been omitted from subsequent editions, for what reason I know not.

I shall use the Author's (Centennial) Edition, published at Camden, N. J., in 1876. I propose to follow a method which at first may look like the abandonment of method. That is, I shall turn over the pages, following the order of the poems themselves, and shall select such passages as strike me. Then, when we have read them together, we will group the sayings under general heads and see what is the significance of the message the poet has for the world.

Whether or not it is what is popularly called religion, it is clear that he is in dead earnest about what seems religion to him: —

I too, following many, and follow'd by many, inaugurate a Religion
— I descend into the arena.
(It may be I am destin'd to utter the loudest cries there, the winner's
pealing shouts;
Who knows? they may rise from me yet, and soar above everything.)

Each is not for its own sake;
I say the whole earth, and all the stars in the sky, are for Religion's
sake.

I say no man has ever yet been half devout enough;
None has ever yet adored or worship'd half enough;
None has begun to think how divine he himself is, and how certain
the future is.

I say that the real and permanent grandeur of these States must be
their Religion;
Otherwise there is no real and permanent grandeur:
(Nor character, nor life worthy the name, without Religion;
Nor land, nor man nor woman, without Religion.)

What are you doing, young man?
Are you so earnest — so given up to literature, science, art, amours?
These ostensible realities, politics, points?
Your ambition or business, whatever it may be?

It is well, against such I say not a word — I am their poet also;
But behold! such swiftly subside — burnt up for Religion's sake;
For not all matter is fuel to heat, impalpable flame, the essential life
of the earth,
Any more than such are to Religion.

Know you! solely to drop in the earth the germs of a greater
Religion,
The following chants, each for its kind, I sing.

My comrade!

For you to share with me two greatnesses — and a third one, rising
inclusive and more resplendent,
The greatness of Love and Democracy — and the greatness of
Religion.

Not he, with a daily kiss, onward from childhood kissing me,
Has winded and twisted around me that which holds me to him,
Any more than I am held to the heavens, to the spiritual world,
And to the identities of the Gods, my lovers, faithful and true,
After what they have done to me, suggesting themes.

I will not make poems with reference to parts;
But I will make leaves, poems, poemets, songs, says, thoughts, with
reference to *ensemble* :

And I will not sing with reference to a day, but with reference to all
days;

And I will not make a poem, nor the least part of a poem, but has
reference to the Soul;

(Because, having look'd at the objects of the universe I find there is
no one, nor any particle of one, but has reference to the Soul.)

Was somebody asking to see the Soul?

See! your own shape and countenance — persons, substances, beasts,
the trees, the running rivers, the rocks and sands.

All hold spiritual joys, and afterwards loosen them:
How can the real body ever die, and be buried?

Of your real body, and any man's or woman's real body,
Item for item, it will elude the hands of the corpse-cleaners, and pass
to fitting spheres,

Carrying what has accrued to it from the moment of birth to the
moment of death.

Not the types set up by the printer return their impression, the mean-
ing, the main concern,

Any more than a man's substance and life, or a woman's substance
and life, return in the body and the Soul,

Indifferently before death and after death.

Behold! the body includes and is the meaning, the main concern —
and includes and is the Soul;

Whoever you are! how superb and how divine is your body, or any
part of it!

Then, in the poem entitled "Walt Whitman," what recogni-
tion is there of the immanent God, and of the life which
laughs at death: —

A child said, "What is the grass?" fetching it to me with full hands;
How could I answer the child? I do not know what it is, any more
than he.

I guess it must be the flag of my disposition, out of hopeful green stuff woven.

Or I guess it is the handkerchief of the Lord,
A scented gift and remembrancer, designedly dropt,
Bearing the owner's name someway in the corners, that we may see
and remark, and say, "Whose?"

What do you think has become of the young and old men?
And what do you think has become of the women and children?

They are alive and well somewhere;
The smallest sprout shows there is really no death;
And if ever there was, it led forward life and does not wait at the end
to arrest it,
And ceased the moment life appear'd.

All goes onward and outward — nothing collapses;
And to die is different from what anyone supposed, and luckier.

Has anyone supposed it lucky to be born?
I hasten to inform him or her, it is just as lucky to die, and I know it.

I pass death with the dying, and birth with the new-wash'd babe,
and am not contain'd between my hat and boots.

A little further on, what magnificent trust he shows as to
his own place and importance in the eternal order: —

I do not trouble my spirit to vindicate itself or be understood;
I see that the elementary laws never apologize.
(I reckon I behave no prouder than the level I plant my house by,
after all.)

I exist as I am — that is enough;
If no other in the world be aware, I sit content;
And if each and all be aware, I sit content.

One world is aware, and by far the largest to me, and that is myself;
And whether I come to my own to-day, or in ten thousand or ten
million years,
I can cheerfully take it now, or with equal cheerfulness I can wait.

My foothold is tenon'd and mortis'd in granite;
I laugh at what you call dissolution;
And I know the amplitude of time.

Have you outstript the rest? Are you the President?
It is a trifle — they will more than arrive there, every one, and still
pass on.

Note, too, the grand optimism in words like these, —

What behaved well in the past, or behaves well to-day, is not such a wonder;
The wonder is, always and always, how there can be a mean man or an infidel.

Again, how he identifies the welfare or the degradation of any or all others with himself, —

Whoever degrades another degrades me;
And whatever is done or said returns at last to me.

With what boldness does he declare the essential purity and goodness of whatever God has made: —

Through me forbidden voices;
Voices of sexes and lusts — voices veil'd, and I remove the veil;
Voices indecent, by me clarified and transfigured.

Divine am I inside and out, and I make holy whatever I touch or am touch'd from;
The scent of these arm-pits, aroma finer than prayer;
This head more than churches, bibles and all the creeds.

In the same poem, observe how all stories of miracle grow small in the real presence of the wonder of common things: —

I believe a leaf of grass is no less than the journey-work of the stars,
And the pismire is equally perfect, and a grain of sand, and the egg of the wren,
And the tree-toad is a *chef-d'œuvre* for the highest,
And the running blackberry would adorn the parlors of heaven,
And the narrowest hinge in my hand puts to scorn all machinery,
And the cow crunching with depress'd head surpasses any statue,
And a mouse is miracle enough to stagger sextillions of infidels.

Then, whether or not one agrees with him, there is a most naïve and refreshing frankness in his contemplation of the animal world: —

I think I could turn and live with animals, they are so placid and self-contain'd;
I stand and look at them long and long.

They do not sweat and whine about their condition;
They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins;
They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God;
Not one is dissatisfied — not one is demented with the mania of owning things;
Not one kneels to another, nor to his kind that lived thousands of years ago;
Not one is respectable or industrious over the whole earth.

An infidel is not one who refuses his or their particular religion, but one who sees nothing spiritual whatever, himself being devoid of it.

Out of this he rises to a lofty pitch of sympathy with heroism and suffering:—

I understand the large hearts of heroes,
 The courage of present times and all times;
 How the skipper saw the crowded and rudderless wreck of the steamship, and Death chasing it up and down the storm;
 How he knuckled tight, and gave not back one inch, and was faithful of days and faithful of nights,
 And chalk'd in large letters, on a board, "*Be of good cheer, we will not desert you*";
 How he followed with them, and tacked with them, and would not give it up;
 How he saved the drifting company at last:
 How the lank, loose-gowned women look'd when boated from the side of their prepared graves;
 How the silent, old-faced infants, and the lifted sick, and the sharp-lipped, unshaved men:
 All this I swallow—it tastes good—I like it well—it becomes mine;
 I am the man—I suffered—I was there.

Agonies are one of my changes of garments;
 I do not ask the wounded person how he feels—I myself become the wounded person;
 My hurts turp livid upon me as I lean on a cane and observe.

Later on he treats the gods of the past, and notes how the god-idea grows towards the natural and the human:—

Magnifying and applying come I,
 Outbidding at the start the old cautious hucksters,
 Taking myself the exact dimensions of Jehovah,
 Lithographing Kronos, Zeus his son, and Hercules his grandson;
 Buying drafts of Osiris, Isis, Belus, Brahma, Buddha,
 In my portfolio placing Manito loose, Allah on a leaf, the crucifix engraved,
 With Odin and the hideous-faced Mexitli, and every idol and image;
 Taking them all for what they are worth, and not a cent more;
 Admitting they were alive and did the work of their days,
 (They bore mites, as for unfledged birds, who have now to rise and fly and sing for themselves);
 Accepting the rough, deific sketches to fill out better in myself—bestowing them freely on each man and woman I see;
 Discovering as much, or more, in a framer framing a house,
 Putting higher claims for him there with his rolled-up sleeves, driving the mallet and chisel;
 Not objecting to special revelations—considering a curl of smoke, or a hair on the back of my hand, just as curious as any revelation;
 Lads ahoid of fire-engines and hook-and-ladder ropes no less to me than the Gods of the antique wars,

Minding their voices peal through the crash of destruction,
 Their brawny limbs passing safe over charr'd laths — their white
 foreheads whole and unhurt out of the flames;
 By the mechanic's wife with her babe at her nipple interceding for
 every person born;
 Three scythes at harvest whizzing in a row from three lusty angels
 with shirts bagg'd out at their waists;
 The snag-toothed hostler with red hair redeeming sins past and to
 come,
 Selling all he possesses, travelling on foot to fee lawyers for his
 brother, and sit by him while he is tried for forgery;
 What was strewn in the amplest strewing the square rod about me,
 and not filling the square rod then;
 The bull and the bug never worship'd half enough;
 Dung and dirt more admirable than was dreamed;
 The supernatural of no account — myself waiting my time to be one
 of the Supremes;
 The day getting ready for me when I shall do as much good as the
 best, and be as prodigious.

Then he accepts all priests and worships : —

The sky up there — yet here, or next door, or across the way?
 The saints and sages in history — but you yourself?
 Sermons, creeds, theology — but the fathomless human brain,
 And what is reason? and what is love? and what is life?

 I do not despise you, priests;
 My faith is the greatest of faiths and the least of faiths,
 Enclosing worship ancient and modern, and all between ancient and
 modern,
 Believing I shall come again upon the earth after five thousand
 years,
 Waiting responses from oracles, honoring the Gods, saluting the
 sun,
 Making a fetish of the first rock or stump, powwowing with sticks in
 the circle of obis,
 Helping the lama or brahmin as he trims the lamps of the idols,
 Dancing yet through the streets in a phallic procession, rapt and
 austere in the woods, a gymnosophist,
 Drinking mead from the skull-cup — to Shastas and Vedas admiran-
 — minding the Koran,
 Walking the teokallis, spotted with gore from the stone and knife,
 beating the serpent-skin drum,
 Accepting the Gospels — accepting Him that was crucified, knowing
 assuredly that He is divine,
 To the mass kneeling, or the puritan's prayer rising, or sitting
 patiently in a pew,
 Ranting and frothing in my insane crisis, or waiting deadlike till
 my spirit arouses me,
 Looking forth on pavement and land, or outside of pavement and
 land,

Belonging to the winders of the circuit of circuits.
We have thus far exhausted trillions of winters and summers;
There are trillions ahead, and trillions ahead of them.

I do not call one greater and one smaller;
That which fills its period and place is equal to any.
All has been gentle with me—I keep no account with lamentation.
(What have I to do with lamentation?)

Now comes his magnificent description of the evolution of a soul. The opening of Gensis itself is not finer than this:—

I am an acme of things accomplish'd, and I am an encloser of things to be.

My feet strike an apex of the apices of the stairs;
On every step bunches of ages, and larger bunches between the steps;
All below duly travelled, and still I mount and mount.

Rise after rise bow the phantoms behind me;
Afar down I see the huge first Nothing—I know I was even there:
I waited unseen and always, and slept through the lethargic mist.
And took my time, and took no hurt from the fetid carbon.

Long I was hugg'd close—long and long.

Immense have been the preparations for me,
Faithful and friendly the arms that have help'd me.

Cycles ferried my cradle, rowing and rowing like cheerful boatmen;
For room to me stars kept aside in their own rings;
They sent influences to look after what was to hold me.

Before I was born out of my mother, generations guided me;
My embryo has never been torpid—nothing could overlay it.

For it the nebula cohered to an orb,
The long slow strata piled to rest it on,
Vast vegetables gave it sustenance,
Monstrous sauroids transported it in their mouths, and deposited it with care.

All forces have been steadily employ'd to complete and delight me;
Now on this spot I stand with my robust Soul.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of the poet is the godlike serenity with which he faces old age and the confidence with which he fronts the future, certain that the universe will not be complete without him.

Old age superbly rising! O welcome, ineffable grace of dying days!

I open my scuttle at night and see the far-sprinkled systems,
And all I see, multiplied as high as I can cipher, edge but the rim of the farther systems.

Wider and wider they spread, expanding, always expanding
Outward and outward, and forever outward.

My sun has his sun, and round him obediently wheels;
He joins with his partners a group of superior circuit,
And greater sets follow, making specks of the greatest inside them.

There is no stoppage, and never can be stoppage;
If I, you and the worlds, and all beneath or upon their surfaces, were
this moment reduced back to a pallid float, it would not avail in
the long run;

We should surely bring up again where we now stand,
And as surely go as much farther — and then farther and farther.

A few quadrillions of eras, a few octillions of cubic leagues, do not
hazard the span, or make it impatient;
They are but parts — anything is but a part.

See ever so far, there is limitless space outside of that;
Count ever so much, there is limitless time around that.

My rendezvous is appointed — it is certain;
The Lord will be there, and wait till I come, on perfect terms;
The great Camerado, the lover true for whom I pine, will be there.

Not I — not any one else, can travel that road for you;
You must travel it for yourself.

It is not far — it is within reach;
Perhaps you have been on it since you were born, and did not know;
Perhaps it is everywhere on water and on land.

This day before dawn I ascended a hill, and look'd at the crowded
heaven,
And I said to my Spirit, "When we become the enfolders of those
orbs, and the pleasure and knowledge of everything in them,
shall we be filled and satisfied then?"

And my Spirit said, "No, we but level that lift, to pass and continue
beyond."

Very noteworthy is his acceptance of the physical as being
equally divine with the spirit. Very noteworthy is his confidence that we see God now and every day and everywhere.

I have said that the soul is not more than the body,
And I have said that the body is not more than the soul;
And nothing, not God, is greater to one than one's self is;
And whoever walks a furlong without sympathy, walks to his own
funeral, drest in his shroud;
And I or you, pocketless of a dime, may purchase the pick of the
earth;
And to glance with an eye, or show a bean in its pod, confounds the
learning of all times;

And there is no trade or employment but the young man following it
may become a hero;

And there is no object so soft but it makes a hub for the wheel'd
universe;

And I say to any man or woman, Let your soul stand cool and com-
posed before a million universes.

And I say to mankind, Be not curious about God,
For I, who am curious about each, am not curious about God.
(No array of terms can say how much I am at peace about God, and
about death.)

Why should I wish to see God better than this day?
I see something of God each hour of the twenty-four, and each
moment then;

In the faces of men and women I see God, and in my own face in
the glass;

I find letters from God dropt in the street, and every one is signed
by God's name,

And I leave them where they are, for I know that wheresoever I go,
Others will punctually come forever and ever.

And as to you, Death, and you bitter hug of mortality, it is idle to
try to alarm me.

Passing the "Children of Adam," which will be briefly
discussed later, let us read "To Him That was Crucified":—

My spirit to yours, dear brother;
Do not mind because many, sounding your name, do not understand
you;

I do not sound your name, but I understand you (there are others
also);

I specify you with joy, O my comrade, to salute you, and to salute
those who are with you, before and since, and those to come
also;

That we all labor together, transmitting the same charge and suc-
cession;

We few, equals, indifferent of lands, indifferent of times;

We, enclosers of all continents, all castes — allowers of all theologies,
Compassionaters, perceivers, rapport of men,

We walk silent among disputes and assertions, but reject not the dis-
puters, nor anything that is asserted;

We hear the bawling and din — we are reached at by divisions,
jealousies, recriminations on every side,

They close peremptorily upon us, to surround us, my comrade,

Yet we walk unheld, free, the whole earth over, journeying up and
down till we make our ineffaceable mark upon time and the
diverse eras,

Till we saturate time and eras, that the men and women of races,
ages to come, may prove brethren and lovers, as we are.

It is worth while to note his estimate of greatness:—

The great city is that which has the greatest man or woman;
If it be a few ragged huts, it is still the greatest city in the whole world.

Where equanimity is illustrated in affairs;
Where speculations on the Soul are encouraged;
Where women walk in public processions in the streets, the same as the men,
Where they enter the public assembly and take places the same as the men;

Where the city of the faithfulest friends stands;
Where the city of the cleanliness of the sexes stands;
Where the city of the healthiest fathers stands,
Where the city of the best-bodied mothers stands,
There the great city stands.

How beggarly appear arguments before a defiant deed!
How the floridness of the materials of cities shrivels before a man or woman's look!

All waits or goes by default, till a strong being appears;
A strong being is the proof of the race, and of the ability of the universe;
When he or she appears, materials are overaw'd,
The dispute on the Soul stops,
The old customs and phrases are confront'd, turn'd back, or laid away.

What is your money-making now? what can it do now?
What is your respectability now?
What are your theology, tuition, society, traditions, statute-books, now?
Where are your cavils about the Soul now?

I would not have any one omit to read the "Story of the Open Row," though I cannot quote from it. How the common, dusty highway opens out and stretches on into the endless procession of the ages!

How the world becomes to us what we are, is put into two lines which we who complain should ponder:—

I swear the earth shall surely be complete to him or her who shall be complete:
I swear the earth remains jagged and broken only to him or her who remains jagged and broken!

I love, over and over again, to note his mastery over death:—

Great is Life, real and mystical, wherever and whoever;
Great is Death—sure as life holds all parts together,
Death holds all parts together.

Has Life much purport? Ah, Death has the greatest purport.

It can only be his mother who is so finely and lovingly sketched in the following lines:—

Behold a woman!

She looks out from her Quaker cap—her face is clearer and more beautiful than the sky.

She sits in an arm-chair, under the shaded porch of the farm-house; The suns just shines on her old white head.

Her ample gown is of cream-hued linen,
Her grandsons raised the flax, and her granddaughters spun it with the distaff and the wheel.

The melodious character of the earth,
The finish beyond which philosophy cannot go, and does not wish to go,
The justified mother of men.

A pathetic justification of himself and his work is here, and a willingness to wait for some to accept him:—

Give me the pay I have served for!

Give me to sing the song of the great Idea! take all the rest;

I have loved the earth, sun, animals; I have despised riches,

I have given alms to every one that ask'd, stood up for the stupid and crazy, devoted my income and labor to others,

I have hated tyrants, argued not concerning God, had patience and indulgence toward the people, taken off my hat to nothing known or unknown,

I have gone freely with powerful uneducated persons, and with the young, and with the mothers of families,

I have read these leaves to myself in the open air—I have tried them by trees, stars, rivers,

I have dismissed whatever insulted my own soul or defiled my body, I have claimed nothing to myself which I have not carefully claimed for others on the same terms,

I have sped to the camps, and comrades found and accepted from every State.

(In war of you, as well as peace, my suit is good, America—sadly I boast;

Upon this breast has many a dying soldier leaned, to breathe his last; This arm, this hand, this voice, have nourish'd, rais'd, restored, To life recalling many a prostrate form.)

I am willing to wait to be understood by the growth of the taste of myself;

I reject none, I permit all.

A few readings now from his second volume. And, first, in this age of pessimistic wail, when so many introspective

analyzers have discovered that the world doll and the human doll alike are stuffed with only sawdust, it is refreshing to hear his song of trust and triumph: —

O glad, exulting, culminating song!
 A vigor more than earth's is in thy notes!
 Marches of victory — man disenthralled — the conqueror at last!
 Hymns to the universal God, from universal man — all joy!
 A reborn race appears — a perfect world, all joy!
 Women and men, in wisdom, innocence and health — all joy!
 Riotous, laughing bacchanals, filled with joy!
 War, sorrow, suffering gone — the rank earth purged — nothing but joy left!
 The ocean filled with joy — the atmosphere all joy!
 Joy! joy! in freedom, worship, love! Joy in the ecstasy of life!
 Enough to merely be! Enough to breathe!
 Joy! joy! all over joy!

A similar strain is this: —

Oh, we can wait no longer!
 We too take ship, O soul!
 Joyous, we too launch out on trackless seas!
 Fearless, for unknown shores, on waves of ecstasy to sail,
 Amid the wafting winds (thou pressing me to thee, I thee to me, (soul),
 Carolling free — singing our song of God,
 Chanting our chant of pleasant exploration.

Ah, more than any priest, O soul, we too believe in God;
 But with the mystery of God we dare not dally.

Swiftly I shrivel at the thought of God,
 At Nature and its wonders, Time and Space and Death,
 But that I, turning, call to thee, O soul, thou actual Me,
 And lo! thou gently masterest the orbs,
 Thou matest Time, smilest content at Death,
 And fillest, swellest full, the vastnesses of Space.

Greater than stars or suns,
 Bounding, O soul, thou journeyest forth;
 What love, than thine and ours could wider amplify?

What aspirations, wishes, outvie thine and ours, O soul?
 What dreams of the ideal? what plans of purity, perfection, strength,

Passage — immediate passage! the blood burns in my veins!
 Away, O soul! hoist instantly the anchor!
 Cut the hawsers — haul out — shake out every sail!
 Have we not stood here like trees in the ground long enough?
 Have we not grovell'd here long enough, eating and drinking like mere brutes?
 Have we not darken'd and dazed ourselves with books long enough?

Sail forth! steer for the deep waters only!
 Reckless, O soul, exploring, I with thee and thou with me;
 For we are bound where mariner has not yet dared to go,
 And we will risk the ship, ourselves and all.

O my brave soul!
 O farther, farther sail!

O daring joy, but safe! Are they not all the seas of God?
 O farther, farther, farther sail!

What deathless trust is in his "Death Carol": —

Come, lovely and soothing Death,
 Undulate round the world, serenely arriving, arriving,
 In the day, in the night, to all, to each,
 Sooner or later, delicate Death.

Prais'd be the fathomless universe,
 For life and joy, and for objects and knowledge curious;
 And for love, sweet love. But praise! praise! praise!
 For the sure-enwinding arms of cool-enfolding Death.

Dark Mother, always gliding near, with soft feet,
 Have none chanted for thee a chant of fullest welcome?
 Then I chant it for thee — I glorify thee above all,
 I bring thee a song that when thou must indeed come, come unfalter-
 ingly.

Approach, strong Deliveress!
 When it is so — when thou hast taken them, I joyously sing the dead,
 Lost in the loving, floating ocean of thee,
 Laved in the flood of thy bliss, O Death.

From me to thee glad serenades,
 Dances for thee I propose, saluting thee — adornments and feast-
 ings for thee;
 And the sights of the open landscape, and the high-spread sky, are
 fitting,
 And life and the fields, and the huge and thoughtful night.

The night in silence, under many a star;
 The ocean shore, and the husky whispering wave, whose voice I
 know;
 And the Soul turning to thee, O vast and well-veil'd Death,
 And the body gratefully nestling close to thee

Over the tree-tops I float thee a song!
 Over the rising and sinking waves, over the myriad fields, and the
 prairies wide;
 Over the dense-pack'd cities all, and the teeming wharves and ways,
 I float this carol with joy, with joy to thee, O Death!

Who in the modern world has met sorrow with words
 like these? —

O joy of suffering!
 To struggle against great odds! to meet enemies undaunted!
 To be entirely alone with them! to find how much one can stand!
 To look strife, torture, prison, popular odium, death, face to face!
 To mount the scaffold! to advance to the muzzle of guns with perfect nonchalance!
 To be indeed a God!

Here again the triumph over death. And if, besides this, one hears no poetry in these lines, then surely the ear cannot be attuned to what is finest: —

Whispers of heavenly death, murmur'd I hear;
 Labial gossip of night — sibilant chorals;
 Footsteps gently ascending, mystical breezes wafted soft and low;
 Ripples of unseen rivers — tides of a current, flowing, forever flowing.
 (Or is it the plashing of tears? the measureless waters of human tears?)

I see, just see, skyward, great cloud masses;
 Mournfully, slowly, they roll, silently swelling and mixing;
 With, at times a half-dimm'd, sadden'd, far-off star,
 Appearing and disappearing.

(Some parturition, rather — some solemn, immortal birth:
 On the frontiers, to eyes impenetrable,
 Some soul is passing over.)

Then, beyond death, how his soul leaps out and on: —

Darest thou now, O Soul,
 Walk out with me toward the Unknown Region,
 Where neither ground is for the feet, nor any path to follow?

No map, there, nor guide,
 Nor voice sounding, nor touch of human hand,
 Nor face with blooming flesh, nor lips, nor eyes, are in that land.

I know it not, O Soul;
 Nor dost thou — all is a blank before us;
 All waits, undream'd of, in that region, that inaccessible land.

Till, when the ties loosen,
 All but the ties eternal, Time and Space,
 Nor darkness, gravitation, sense, nor any bounds, bound us.

Then we burst forth — we float,
 In Time and Space, O Soul — prepared for them;
 Equal, equipt at last — (O joy! O fruit of all!) them to fulfil, O Soul.

For the last, read his death song: —

Joy! shipmate — joy!
 (Pleas'd to my soul at death I cry:)

Our life is closed — our life begins;
 The long, long anchorage we leave,
 The ship is clear at last — she leaps!
 She swiftly courses from the shore;
 Joy! shipmate — joy!

I know of no life in the modern world which has passed into the unseen with such words of exultation.

Trusting that the reader has gone over with some care the above extracts from Whitman, let us now consider his message for a little. Is the body and form which he has chosen to give his work to be called poetry? Everyone knows that rhyme is not essential to poetry; else would the greatest — Milton, Shakespeare, Homer, Job, Isaiah, the Psalms — be ruled out. Whitman has a rhythm which is all his own, as much as the waves and the surf-beat belong to the sea. Some of his work is exquisite in its word-music and grand as the roll of breakers. Some of his passages need not fear comparison with the finest in the Old Testament. Still I cannot think he will have many followers or imitators.

When we come to the substance of his message, it must be conceded that it is saturated with religion through and through, to a degree that is hardly true of any other modern writer. People may not like his kind of religion. They may even fear it or hate it. But if religion be a dealing with the deepest and most essential things in our relation to the Power manifested in the universe and in our relation to one another, then is he hardly anything but religious. His conception of the universe is that which modern science has revealed to us. He grasps this with wonderful power and accepts it with utter frankness. When we remember that all religions begin with a cosmology, and take their shape from it, we need not wonder that the Ptolemaic religions are not to be found in his Copernican setting. He is not, then, Christian, in the popular acceptance of any of the theologies that claim that title. Of Jesus he everywhere speaks with insight, with tenderness, with admiration; and the substance of his teaching is in wonderful accord with the chief doctrines of the Man of Nazareth. Indeed, he is more profoundly His disciple than are most of the churches who so strenuously insist on our saying, "Lord, Lord!"

Of the immanent God, the essential Spirit, the Eternal Life of all worlds, he is a profound and reverent worshipper.

*X what has so-called modern science" (or what the eye can see) to do with the profound spiritual thoughts of Paul, death etc. of a Whitman?
 O God! To even imagine them.*

He is "not curious about God," does not argue about Him, but he feels everywhere in His presence, finds letters from Him in every street — which he does not need to pick up and put away to become a hardened and dried tradition, because he believes other letters, just as vital, will follow him everywhere and forever. So "God-intoxicated" is he, like Spinoza, that he sees almost nothing but God, and wonders any man can be "mean" or an "infidel."

His next great doctrine is the infinite worth of the human personality. Much of his writing sounds strangely egotistic, until one notices that the I means not Walt Whitman only, but any I, however outcast or poor. He feels that any personality is a majestic, a divine thing. Nothing in the universe is more wonderful, not even God, for it shares with God the mystery of the essential and the eternal life. Whatever its condition now, it has in it the possibility of all things, and somehow, somewhen, somewhere, shall attain. It is, then, a doctrine of infinite and eternal hope for any and for all.

It follows from this that his philosophy is intensely optimistic. Perhaps no modern writer is so frankly inclusive in his acceptance of all things. He blinks no passion, no degradation, no crime; he folds in his arms the drunkard, the debauchee, the imbecile, the insignificant, the insane. He hides himself from no pain, no evil, no catastrophe. Yet he resolutely and serenely holds that any man or woman whose feet are on the lowest round even of personal existence is climbing the stairway "which slopes," albeit "through darkness, up to God." And I submit that this is the only tenable or sane position. Either good, in spite of all apparent evil, or else a universe so chaotic and insane that the judgment which condemns it may, after all, be only a part of the insanity, and so utterly unreliable. The pessimist's doubts, carried to their logical conclusion, breed doubts of the pessimism itself; so the position is logically self-destructive.

It is a part of this optimism that he should treat so fearlessly the forbidden subject of "Children of Adam." Is it not a little strange that the very fountain of life itself should, in a God-made world, be so universally regarded as unclean? Were we decently taught and weeded of a little of our prurieny — which is at the antipodes of purity — we should find Walt Whitman as clean as is the Creator. No man has severer

words for impurity. And yet — it would be a ghastly joke, were it not such a self-revelation! — a man as clean as the pine woods or the northwest winds is adjudged by our virtuous (?) Dogberrys to be "immoral." Whatever else he is, and whatever any one may think of his religion, he is a great, bracing moral force to any one who studies him with even common intelligence. To class him with the "French school" or even with many an English writer, like Byron, shows about as much discrimination as did the Pharisees when they accused Jesus of drunkenness or of having a devil.

The magnificent trustful optimism of the man comes out nowhere more clearly than in the face of death. The reader is asked to look again at the brave words of Browning on this subject; at Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar"; at what Lowell and Longfellow have to say; at the sweet trust of Whittier. Then, with these in mind, turn and read afresh "Death Carol," "Whispers of Heavenly Death," and "Joy, Shipmate, Joy!" There is here no resignation to the inevitable, but, rather, a glad welcome to what is believed to be a part of a lovingly-perfect divine order. Death is no token of divine anger, no incursion of evil into this otherwise fair world, no fruit of human sin — it is God's angel of the higher birth. Nor is this any sentimental acceptance of a traditional hope. In the face of disease, of victims of the battle rage, in the presence of the mangled bodies of those killed by accident, or the putrid fruits of plagues and infectious diseases, everywhere, hiding nothing of horror from his eyes, he still stands triumphantly, joyfully trusting that all souls are safe in the divine hands, and that, after no matter how many ages, or over what obstacles, still the soul will arrive at its wonderful goal. In all literature I know of nothing like Walt Whitman's sublime attitude in the presence of death.

As to the details of the immortal life, he does not speculate. The universe is infinite wonder here; and he has no fear as to its being adequate to all the possibilities of the soul's unfolding in the future.

This *resumé* is necessarily brief. My chief aim is to get a little of Whitman read and pondered on. My comment is only to direct attention to certain special points in his teaching.

One thing remains to be done. He preached a magnifi-

cent gospel. How did he himself live as related to his message? I think it may truthfully be said that no historical character, of whom we have any adequate account, ever more completely *was* his message. He *lived* his democracy, his friendship, his philanthropy, his independence of money, his faith, his serenity, his calm, simple welcome of death. His unselfish work in the hospitals left him a lifelong invalid. He never tried to make money, and — what is rarer — he never whined because he did not have it. Having sung of conquest over disease and pain, he calmly conquered both. In poverty, in old age, in pain, he waited the coming of death with the serenity of a god. Never a whimper, never an outcry, never a complaint against fate. Neither by act, word, gesture or look did he ever go back on the sublime trust which he had sung. So, as we stand beside him at the last, we cannot think of death: —

Some parturition, rather — some solemn, immortal birth;
On the frontiers, to eyes impenetrable,
Some soul is passing over.

Where is he now? Let us hear his own word as to finding him again: —

Failing to fetch me at first, keep encouraged;
Missing me one place, search another;
I stop somewhere, waiting for you.

THE ELECTION OF SENATORS AND THE PRESIDENT BY POPULAR VOTE, AND THE VETO POWER.

BY HON. WALTER CLARK.*

At the date of the formation of the federal constitution in 1787, the governor in all but one or two of the states was elected by the legislature. In determining, therefore, the manner of selecting the two senators who were to represent each of the several states in the federal senate, the utmost the popular element could obtain was their election by the legislatures of the several states. Some of the members of the convention, like Alexander Hamilton, insisted on their being chosen for life, others on their election by the lower house of Congress, and some on their appointment for each state by the governor thereof. George Mason of Virginia and Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania (afterwards on the United States Supreme Bench) alone advocated their election by the people. A measure so far in advance of the times received the vote of one state only — Pennsylvania. The election was, as a compromise, devolved on the state legislatures in analogy to the mode then in vogue of electing governors.

One by one the several state constitutions were amended to place the election of governors in the hands of the people. The very same reasons which caused this change should long since have made a similar change in the mode of electing senators. Doubtless the greater difficulty of amending the federal constitution, and the opposition of the Senate itself and of the strong element which finds its benefit in the present mode of election, have prevented an amendment which each state has shown to be desired and desirable by amending its own constitution as to the manner of electing its governor. The facility with which the present mode of election lends itself to the control of the choice of senators

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by the money power, the selection of a large proportion, probably a majority of the senators, at the dictation of the accumulated wealth of the country, and the consequent indifference with which the average senator is tempted to regard the people's interest, or the people's will, are reasons enough why the mode of election should be changed. These reasons are patent to all and require no argument.

But there are many other reasons which do not lie so apparent and on the very surface of things, but which nevertheless should be sufficient if fairly considered, to justify the change to an election by the people. Among them are these:—

The present mode of election virtually disfranchises all the counties in which the party, which is dominant in the legislature, does not control. Take a state in which either party has only a small majority in the legislature on joint ballot. In such state half the counties, containing possibly one half the voters of the dominant party, are completely disfranchised. Nay, more; as the choice is usually by caucus, one half of the dominant majority, coming from one fourth of the counties, select the senator. The parties being usually nearly equal at the polls, the members of the legislature who cast the votes of those counties may thus represent less than one eighth of the voters of the state. Such a system is not democratic. That it readily lends itself to manipulation and to the influence of corporate and plutocratic influences would be apparent, even if the world was not advertised of the fact by that unanswerable teacher—experience.

But it is argued that the legislature represents the state. But so do the governor and the judiciary, and even more fully, since they must be chosen by a majority of the voters of the whole state, while not unfrequently the majority of the legislature is chosen by a minority of the voters of the state. Yet who would be content to have the senators appointed by the governor or elected by the judges of the state? Why should they be chosen by the legislative department, when the people themselves are competent to express their own wishes at first hand, and not leave their choice to be determined, as often happens, by men who receive, as above stated, less than one eighth of the vote of the state? Each of those members of the caucus majority may have been the choice in the nominating convention of his party in his

county of a small majority only, making it thus in fact possible and not very unusual for one sixteenth of the voters of the state to control the choice of the senator; and, by means familiar to all men, he may be selected, not even by the will of that one sixteenth, but by the infinitesimal fraction of the voters of the state who happen to fill one fourth of the seats in the legislature, and thus constitute a majority of the caucus of the party dominant in that body; such things have happened.

To be clear, take a state which casts 400,000 votes. A majority of the legislature is elected from counties having 200,000 voters, or often less when there is a gerrymander. A majority in the caucus may, therefore, have been elected from counties having 100,000 voters. But nearly half of these were of the opposite party, leaving the majority of the caucus elected by 50,000 voters. These members were nominated in their respective conventions usually by a majority only of their party in their respective counties, or say 25,000, which is one sixteenth of the 400,000 voters of the state; whereas if elected by popular vote of the whole state, as he should be, a senator must be the expressed choice at the ballot box of more voters than have cast their ballots for any other man, and his nomination must be made by the wish of at least one-fourth of the voters, subject to approval of a majority at the ballot box. Can there really be any difference of opinion as to which is the fairest and most American mode of selection, or as to which is least open to corruption, or is most likely to represent faithfully the wishes of the people? It is true states are not always so close; but many are, and any state may at any election become so. What particular sixteenth of the whole vote shall decide the result is rarely left to chance. Skilful manipulation and the adroit use of money for political machinery (not necessarily for bribery) decide the matter, and not the people's will. That is evil enough.

The change to election by the people would greatly lessen the chances for corruption. The members of the party convention of the state, brought together directly from the people and so soon dispersed again among them, are not so subject to the subtle arts of the lobbyist and professional wire-puller which are brought to bear on the member of the legislature as soon as his nomination is probable, and continued till after the election of senator is over, when, like a squeezed lemon, he

can be thrown aside. Besides, the party convention acts with open doors, subject to public sentiment and conscious that its choice, if not wisely made, is liable to rejection at the polls. No such safeguards surround the deliberations of a caucus.

A senator who is tempted while in office to disregard the wishes and the interest of the people, is emboldened by the knowledge that if by certain influences he can control the sixteenth—more or less—who compose a majority in the nominating conventions of those counties which send a majority of the legislators of the dominant party, he is safe for a reelection; and knows further that without being the choice of any perceptible element among the people it is sufficient if he can secure a majority of the caucus. But he will pause if he knows his renomination must command the approval of a majority of his party convention and an endorsement of a majority of the voters of the whole state at the ballot-box. Is there any reason why the people should not have this potent assurance of the fidelity of their servant in his office?

One of the disgraces of our institutions is what is known as gerrymandering. It is a disgrace because its purpose and object is to defeat the will of the majority, which is the corner-stone upon which a republican form of government is based. One of the commonest instances of gerrymandering is the apportionment of legislative districts, and sometimes even the creation of new counties, with a view to securing a majority of the legislature to the party which is in the minority in the state on a popular vote. The greatest inducing cause to commit this crime against popular sovereignty is the selection of United States senators. It is well to remove the inducement.

It is well, also, at this stage to call attention to the point that the constitutional amendment which shall place the election of senators with the people instead of with the legislature, should contain the provision that such election should be "from the state at large"; else there will be attempts at a modified gerrymander by dividing the state into two senatorial districts of unequal size or dividing it by lines drawn to give party advantage.

The bill to modernize the choice of senators by transferring it from the state legislatures to the people of each state

has twice passed the lower house of Congress by the required two thirds vote and been sent up to the Senate. Thirteen states of the Union have declared for it: Oregon, California, Idaho, Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, New York, Louisiana, South Carolina, West Virginia and Illinois; and there may be others. In many of these the reform is already practically in force by the nominee for senator being named by the party convention. Each member of the legislature votes for his party's nominee for senator, upon the same principle that electors for president have always voted for the nominee of their party, although under no legal obligation to do so. To the credit of American manhood there has never in the history of the republic been an instance of a presidential elector evading this purely moral obligation resting upon him.

Another objection to the senate as now elected is that while one third of the body is renewed every two years, this affects only two thirds of the states. In each of the states there is always four years in which a change or an advance in public sentiment has no chance to make itself felt. This should be remedied by reducing the senatorial term to four years, so that one senator in each state shall be elected every two years. There can be no reason why a senator should be elected for six years and the president for four. The six years' term was an experiment. It has proven too long. It is too long to trust the average public man where temptation to err is so great. He thinks that in six years his offence will be forgotten. He knows many other events will happen in that time. He knows that his reelection depends not upon the people but upon members of a legislature, and that the powerful interests in whose favor his sins were committed will aid him to manipulate and secure the election of a sufficient number of the body which is to sit in judgment upon his conduct by rejection or reelection. There are states in which this cannot be done. But who will say that there are not states in which it is habitually done? In the United States Senate there are some of the wisest, best and purest men of the republic. But in it, too, are many to whom those epithets would appear singularly inapplicable. If a senator deserves public confidence, he can receive endorsement by reelection at the end of four years. If he is untrue to his trust, four years is long enough to abide him.

It is very certain that a senate elected by popular vote for terms of four years, and stripped of the illegal exercise of patronage which the Constitution never intended to confer upon it, would be a very different body from the one which is now as unsatisfactory to this nation as the House of Lords is to the people of Great Britain.

The bill for an amendment to the constitution providing for the election of senators by the people, having passed the lower house of the last Congress without a division, was allowed to sleep the sleep of death in the committee of the senate. A similar bill has passed the House of Representatives of the present Congress, but will doubtless suffer the same fate as the former bill when it reaches the Senate. The scandals attending the election of so many senators, and the habitual disregard of popular wishes and popular interests by the majority of the senators, even by those honestly elected, have been such that the choice of United States senators by the people is, no doubt, the wish of the majority of the people in each and every one of our forty-five states. But the passage of such bill by the senate will be impossible till each senator before his election is pledged to give the people this much needed reform. Any body that needs reforming is for that very reason opposed to the reform. Its consent, when necessary, can only be had by pressure from without.

Contested senatorial elections will be much less frequent on a popular vote than when the election is by the legislature. And when there is a contest the decision, in the first instance at least, will be by the state legislature as a canvassing board, upon whom local public sentiment as to the justice of the case will have some weight, and not by the senate, upon whom it has none.

Desirable as it is that senators shall be elected by the people, that matter has nothing in common with the cry sometimes raised for the election of president by "direct vote of the people." The president is, in fact, elected by the people. He would not be if the original design of electors who should select for themselves had been carried out. But in practice the electoral college is a mere plan for casting the popular vote of each state so that in addition to the *pro rata* its population would entitle it to, each state, irrespective of its size, has two votes added to represent its statehood. This

is some protection to the smaller states against being entirely overwhelmed by the larger ones. This, too, is part of that plan for the partial equality at least of the smaller states with the greater, the acceptance of which alone renders the Union possible. It is good faith to retain it entire.

Besides there is this unanswerable reason against this proposed change. Now the effect of fraud or intimidation is limited to state lines. Such fraud or intimidation is most likely to occur in states which give a large majority for one party or the other. Take Pennsylvania with its 80,000 Republican majority. Should there be charges of fraud or intimidation affecting a few hundred or a few thousand votes, the rest of the Union will feel slight concern, for if the charge is true the electoral vote of Pennsylvania would still be given fairly for the Republican candidate. And in a similar way as to Georgia with her 50,000 Democratic majority. In the states where the vote is nearly balanced each party is usually able to secure a fair election; but let this be once changed so that the president shall be elected by a direct vote of the people, then the people of the whole Union become interested in every charge of fraud or unfairness at every ballot box in Pennsylvania or Georgia or elsewhere, throughout the whole country. A permanent force bill, with federal supervision at every poll, would be a necessity. Every presidential election would revive the scenes of 1876 in an aggravated form and civil war would become inevitable. The present system is consonant to our theory of state sovereignty, recognizing that states, as well as the people of the states, are factors in the choice of president. It is also the wisest plan which can be devised to minimize the chances of a contest and of a civil war over the result. In effect it has all the advantages of an election of president by the Senate and House in joint session without the intrigue and corruption which might become incident to that mode of election.

The fairest and most equitable plan would be, while retaining the electoral college, as now, to divide the electoral vote of each state in proportion to the popular vote for each candidate, dividing no one electoral vote, but so dividing that the largest fraction over shall receive the whole of that one vote. This is better than voting by districts, which would cause gerrymanders and far more just than giving, the whole electoral vote of a state to one party, suppressing entirely the

minority. This would remove the just objection entertained against the present mode of election, without carrying us into the frightful evils of an election by the people of the whole Union, *per capita*, without regard to state lines—those buffers which alone render possible the continued existence of so large a population in one Union without the use of force.

The veto power of the president is an anomalous and dangerous survival from the traditions of the long past. The House represents the people, the Senate the states. The legislative, judicial and executive departments should be kept separate and distinct. It is dangerous in practice and indefensible on principle that the executive should be vested with legislative power sufficient to nullify the action of majorities in both the House and Senate. It cannot be contended that the wisdom of the president surpasses theirs, nor that he more truly represents the people than they do. In truth, the veto is a survival from monarchical times, when the representatives of the people could not legislate except by the consent of the monarch. This was recognized in England at the great Revolution of 1688. Hence, for two centuries, though the crown of Great Britain nominally possesses the veto, no monarch has dared to use it.

In truth, the weakness in our government is in the overwhelming weight of the executive and its constant tendency to grow. A popular, strong and ambitious man in the chair would practically exercise all the functions of the government. He can by the use of the enormous patronage vested in him compel legislation which he favors as fully as he can prevent legislative action by his veto. This has been sufficiently demonstrated in the passage of the act repealing the Sherman law. But recently we have seen the unprecedented spectacle of the president, whose duty it is merely to execute the laws, dropping all *quasi* concealment, publicly stating by a letter to a member of the legislative department, what legislation he desired. He appoints the judiciary. He can veto legislation. He can procure legislation by the use of patronage. Now, he goes further and simply tells Congress what he desires them to do. From this to the Roman Empire, in which, under the emblems and the insignia of a republic, the executive was in fact the whole government, united in one person, is but a step. The remedy is to reduce

the overgrown power of the executive — which, by a fault inherent in the constitution at the beginning, has always been too great, and which has been enhanced out of all proportion with the progress of the years. At the same time the legislative department should be emancipated and rendered independent. This end can be attained: (1) By the elimination of the veto power. (2) By the election of senators by the people. (3) By the suppression of patronage. This last has grown so luxuriantly that radical measures are necessary. All postmasters should be elected by the people. The consular service should, as in other countries, be divorced from politics, and promotions should be as in the army and navy — made only for merit. As to clerks and all subordinates in the civil service, the civil service law should be strictly enforced. As to the judiciary, either the judges should be elected by popular vote, in appropriate districts and circuits, or, if the present mode is retained, the appointment should be for a term of years, so that some control over their conduct may be retained by their sovereign — the people. This would be done by their reappointment being subject to confirmation by a senate elected by the people. The now almost sovereign power of the executive should be thus reduced and the legislative and judiciary departments emancipated and their members made to understand their true positions as agents and servants of the sovereign people. We have drifted far, very far indeed, from that conception. It is time we returned to it.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR THE PRIVILEGED FEW.

BY CHARLES S. SMART.*

GENERAL GARFIELD, a short time before he was elected president of the United States, attended a convention, which I had called to meet in Washington, D. C., and over which I had the honor to preside in virtue of my office as president of the Section of the National Association of College Presidents and State and City Superintendents of Public Schools. In the discussion of the question of the relation of the high school to the primary school and to the college, General Garfield, who was then a member of the United States Senate, asserted that the public schools were "fast becoming a matter of bricks and mortar rather than of brains, and the high schools a brass-knob attachment to popular education," because of the subordination of the primary schools to the high school.

The criticism of public school management made by General Garfield was in my opinion fair and wise at that time, and the conditions causing the criticism have not changed materially since.

The fathers of our public school system seemed to think that all children should be, in one way or another, taught to read well; to spell correctly, at least such words in the English language as are of common or frequent use; to write legibly and in accordance with the practice of the best English writers and speakers; to compute numbers accurately and promptly; to know something of the earth, its shape, extent, products, soil, climate; its so-called natural and its political divisions, etc. So much, at least, of book knowledge appears to have been, in the opinion of the founders of our public school system, that which, with the moral and physical training given in imparting it, would be of most or at least sufficient worth to all the youth of the State, in their development and growth to manhood and womanhood, to guarantee safe citizenship.

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But many educators, believing a knowledge of these subjects not sufficient to insure good citizenship, or not sufficient as a basis of that knowledge which would predicate success to the possessor, who might choose any legitimate vocation, and that the average child needs further intellectual development and more formulated information than instruction in these subjects alone affords, have added many other studies to these simple rudiments, not only enlarging and extending primary instruction in all our public schools but adding thereto a long and somewhat complex course of secondary or high school instruction.

As to the wisdom of these additions there are various opinions. I will mention some of these briefly. I quote first an extract from a letter I find in the *New York World*, written by the distinguished educator, President Seth Low of Columbia College:—

Personally, I believe that the State is as much justified in maintaining a university as in maintaining a system of common schools, provided the political opinions of its citizens will sanction such a course. That was the opinion of Washington and Jefferson, and it is the consistent practice of almost all the Western States of the Union. It is a common saying that the state is justified in giving children instruction in the fundamentals, but it is not justified in maintaining higher education by taxation. That is a question upon which men naturally will differ. I think those who hold to this view are unaware of the importance to the lower education of its opening out into the higher. I am myself fully persuaded that a system of education which does not make it possible, either through private endowments or through state supply, for a child to begin at the beginning and come out at the top a finely educated man is seriously defective, and in no place is so open to criticism as in a democratic community.

For this reason I rejoice in the willingness of the city of New York to maintain its college. I look upon it as distinctly a help to Columbia, and not an injury. I do not think that the young men who attend it receive a liberal education in the same sense as those who go through Columbia or one of the other colleges of equal standing, but they do get a certain discipline training, which make them effective students, according to the testimony of all the university faculties under whom they have studied here.

It is possible I might agree with the sentiment here expressed were it true that the public schools and the money to maintain them were such as to warrant it. But so long as primary instruction is insufficient and the public school funds are not enough to supply even this inadequate in-

struction to *all* the children of school age, I cannot but think that it is unwise in principle and disastrous in application to attempt to sustain, at public expense, what is known as the higher or secondary education. I desire to make no attack on secondary instruction or higher education at public expense, if it is organized and managed under reasonable and proper conditions, and provided it is paid for out of a surplus of the public school funds *after* the primary schools are perfected. But many of the objections to the high schools as they are organized and conducted are beyond question, and if the educators of the country array themselves in support of these schools without attempting to remedy their unreasonable and objectionable defects, the people may one day, sooner or later, fail to discriminate between the support of suitable and reasonable secondary instruction and the support of the generally superficial, extravagant attachments to the common schools called high schools, and will abolish all public instruction other than primary—if they stop there.

Just what should be taught in the public schools has not, I think, been satisfactorily determined, because, if for no other reason, the results of the public school education have not been satisfactory. That is, we have as yet failed to develop in the public schools the highest and best types of manhood and womanhood. This is equally true of private schools and, in my opinion, more true of parochial or church schools; because I do not believe the best citizens of our form of government nor the best men and women can be, or are likely to be, produced by church schools wherein the principles of dogmatic theology are made of primary importance. The best possible citizens and, I think, the best possible men and women can be developed in the *public* schools, when the work done in them is done as well as it can be.

All agree that the so-called "common English branches" should be taught, as forming the basis of that training that is requisite to the successful pursuit of any legitimate business. It is quite as well understood in this day that some industrial training should also be given to the youth of our country before they arrive at the age when they leave the schools and commence the practical work of life. Some industrial training seems necessary in the making of good and useful citizens. It is not necessary, however, to substitute industrial training for any of the subjects conceded to be of

paramount value; but if such training were necessarily substituted for some other subjects now taught, its practical advantages to the large majority of the children who attend our public schools, would quite compensate for the loss of such mere book knowledge as may never practically benefit pupils whose whole future success may depend largely upon intelligent physical exertion.

The tendency of the age seems to be to overlook and disparage the dignity and worth of physical labor; and the influence of the schools, by trying to fit all capacities to the same inflexible course of study, inclines to increase this tendency. I regret to say, as I feel, that the term dignity as applied to manual labor is a misnomer. Our social conditions have so markedly changed during the last twenty-five years — the laborers or employed having become more and more dependents, made more and more to feel their dependency; less and less men and women — “for a’ that,” that the term “dignity” applied to the labor of many of them is absurd. And yet nothing should be more dignified, more honorable than skilled manual labor.

In a country like ours, needing for its best development, and the best development of its people, all kinds and degrees of educated labor, nothing should be more deplored than that our schools should educate the youth of the country beyond or aside from the inclination and ability to work with their hands, and should leave them waiting — mere book-taught drones — for something they think better than manual labor, to turn up. I think we owe it to the future of our country, to the future of our national, commercial and manufacturing importance among the other great nations of the earth, to train our children to be skilled in industrial art; and above all we owe this to the children themselves who, by this training, will be enabled the more certainly to compete with the skilled laborers of other countries. But we also owe it to them and to the stability of free government to make and keep skilled labor honorable. The age of apprenticeship is past; and the child naturally looks to the public schools to prepare him, to an extent, for his future business life, and we owe it to him to give him a practical education.

By an industrial art education we establish our national importance, increase the value of our exports, lessen the need of imports, raise the standard of refinement and culture of

our working men and women, who form the mass of our people, and who should and can be, if they are not now, our best examples of solid worth, intelligence and virtue; preclude the necessity of going abroad for skilled laborers; give to those, thus educated, the means of lucrative employment, and make of practical utility much of school instruction that would not otherwise be utilized. The masses must needs take thought of what they shall eat and wherewithal they shall be clothed; and the education that fits them best for this is, from necessity, the best; at least until they are so developed, until all society is so developed and improved, that the people, the great longing, struggling, hungering, needing, hoping, despairing and yet unyielding people, shall not need to take thought only of what they shall eat and wear.

The education of most worth is not, however, all obtained from schools and colleges and universities, or from books. Many wise men and women are not great or even tolerable scholars. Many estimable citizens, worthy all commendation, have little or no school training or other education than what they have secured by open eyes and ears and observant minds. Children having good heredity and environment need less training. Evils from vicious environment can be overcome, and those springing from heredity can be modified — more or less corrected — by proper training.

Some difference of opinion, as I have said, exists as to the expediency, justice and wise economy of supporting the high school or secondary instruction at the public expense. The educators of the country are generally in the affirmative. In the negative are many thoughtful persons, close observers, equally intelligent with the educators of the country, and untrammelled by the natural inclination of teachers to increase the significance and importance of their work and profession.

The arguments in the affirmative are, in brief: Asserted advantages of the public high school over the private school of equal grade; the careful preparation in lower grades of the public schools for the high school; the greater rapidity with which the pupils are prepared in the lower grades of the public school for the high school, and the consequent juvenility of pupils who enter the high school compared with those who enter upon the same studies in academies; the influence

of the high school upon pupils in lower grades and upon general school attendance; the superior advantages, to the masses, of the public high school; the necessity of further development of the intellectual powers that results from primary schools; the unreliableness of private schools; the importance of educating all classes in the same schools; the importance of concert of action in modes and matters of instruction afforded by the high schools; the opportunity given by the high schools for parental oversight; the offer of a liberal education to the poor as well as to the rich.

In addition to these reasons for the claims of the high school to public support, it is asserted that the people want these schools and therefore should have them; that secondary instruction, in comparison with primary, costs no more than it should, since the former requires instructors of a higher grade of culture than the latter; that it is not the child's but the state's interest that public education should subserve, and that the state can afford to support high schools, even to educate the very few; that each child has a right to school privileges until he is twenty-one years old, and schools must be established and maintained of such grade as will accommodate those who have completed lower grades and desire to attend school until they are twenty-one.

In answer to these claims, those who oppose secondary instruction at public expense assert that the high school has no advantage over the private school of equal grade; that the apparent advantages are only conditional, because the support of the high school at public expense has compelled all to abandon the private school but those who can and are willing to afford the expense of supporting two schools, the private schools thus, perforce, losing the support which would give them vigor and superiority. In further support of the claims of the private school or academy over the high school, it is asserted that the former, if its patronage be not barred out by public taxation to support a rival school, will succeed and continue, or fail and be abandoned, on its actual merit as a school; whereas, on the contrary, the public high school continues not necessarily on its merit but because it is a public school, and its managers and teachers, good bad or indifferent, are paid by the public and continued by a board of education who are at no direct personal expense and therefore not sufficiently interested in the matter.

The careful preparation of pupils in the lower grades for the high school is denied, and it is claimed that the effort of teachers, many of whom are incompetent and incapable to prepare their pupils for creditable admission to the high school, making this preparation a primary or sole consideration in the education of the child and thus ignoring its individual tastes, requirements, condition, environment, heredity, etc., does not and naturally cannot result in the best and most careful preparation for the studies pursued in the high schools, and certainly not for the life struggle a large per cent of the children in the primary schools must be fitted or equipped to make.

It is further asserted, as against this claim of better preparation for high school studies in the lower grades of the public schools, that the graded schools, under the management of superintendents, are not, as they should be, in the relation of pupil to teacher—that is, neither the pupils nor teachers possess the requisite individuality for the best development of the pupil, but work blindly in a groove made them and to an end they know not, and so working it is impossible that the best work can be done by teacher or for pupil.

But if the claim of the friends of the public high school be admitted, I hold that the best preparation for the high school studies is not and should not be the object of primary instruction; because many of the teachers in the primary grades have not sufficient knowledge of the high school studies, and have not the general culture requisite for the preparation of children for these studies; and because ninety-seven per cent of the youth enrolled in the public schools never enter the high school, and therefore do not so much need preparation for its studies, as now organized, but do need a preparation for the work they must do and must commence before they could take time for any part of the high school instruction; because such a preparation is necessarily superficial and not a suitable education for ninety-seven per cent of the children who attend the public schools, and because a careful preparation in the primary schools would be a training in studies which, for the want of a sufficient number of competent teachers, are superficially taught, and most of which are included in the high school course as a preparation for some college, to which only about one in five hundred of those enrolled desire to go or can go.

The juvenility of pupils who enter the high schools, compared with those who enter upon the same studies in academies, will scarcely be regarded by thoughtful persons either as favorable to the high school or a preparation for it. The admission of children into the high school at so early an age, as is frequent, is objectionable, since the studies of these schools are beyond the mental grasp of children so young and consequently so undeveloped.

The influence of the high school upon pupils in the lower grades and upon general school attendance, so far from being beneficial, is rather deleterious, since so very few pupils — about three per cent — ever enter the high school, and the great majority of the children, knowing that their time is so valuable and their labor so needed by their parents that they cannot attend the high school, and that those children whose labor is not so needed can attend, through the years of secondary instruction grow to look upon the high school as a privileged institution, provided for those whom they regard as rich. This feeling, if it is engendered, causes more harm to the state and society, than all the good which can accrue from secondary instruction. The high school cannot be an incentive for school attendance or for proficiency in the primary grades, to those children who know they cannot remain in school longer than six, seven or eight years and cannot therefore enter the high school. The superior advantages of the high schools to the masses is a myth, since ninety-seven per cent of the pupils enrolled in the public schools never enter the high schools and have no time for such attendance. Indeed, as most high schools, throughout our whole country, are organized and managed, to spend four years in them would be of questionable advantage to the young men and women who must earn their own living from the first, and who may not be designed by nature or habits or desire to succeed in professional life.

The advantage of further intellectual development than results from primary education as the public schools are now organized, is evident. But this primary education should be more practical, substantial and fitting than it has been and now is; looking more to the proper intellectual, physical and moral training and development of each individual pupil, and not merely to the levelling up and pressing down processes of speedy preparation of *classes* of mediocres for a

school. A few subjects well taught will insure better intellectual development and more profitable education than will many subjects superficially and indifferently taught.

The offer of a liberal education to the poor, as well as to the rich, sounds well; but of what worth is a thing offered to those who cannot accept it, though they have to aid in paying for it? The average high school does not give a liberal education to the poor. To them, it is as the water of Tantalus, mocking their thirst. Indeed, as the high schools are organized and provided, they do not give a liberal education to any one. True, if the subjects included in most of the high school courses of study were properly taught, these schools would give a very liberal education, indeed.

A few years ago, I had occasion to obtain facts about high school courses of study. I took one of the leading states, whose public schools have always ranked, deservedly, I think, among the very best, and whose colleges, if not equal in quality to those of any other state, make up the deficiency in numbers. I secured the courses of study of fifteen or twenty of the high schools of the towns having populations of from 5,000 to 20,000 and whose schools averaged fairly, as to grade and excellence, with the schools of the state, and with—at least not inferior to—the high schools of any of the states. The courses of study of these schools included the following subjects: Higher Arithmetic, Algebra, English Analysis, Physiology, Geometry, Latin Grammar, Latin Reader, Natural History, Declamation and Composition, Bookkeeping, Virgil, Cæsar, Rhetoric, American Literature, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Trigonometry, Chemistry, Science of Government, Geology, Botany, Greek, Greek Testament, Surveying, German, Physical Geography, Grammar, United States History, General History, Mental Philosophy or Psychology, Analytical Geometry, Calculus, Cicero, Mechanics, Constitution of the United States, Political Economy, English Literature, French, Zoölogy, Drawing, Logic, Natural Science, History of Civilization, Anabasis, Latin Composition, Parliamentary Law, Music, which, with Reading and Spelling, counted forty subjects; and *such* subjects—surely enough to justify the claim of an *offer* of a liberal education!

One of these schools reported thirty-four subjects to be taught and three teachers employed to teach them, each

having from eight to twelve classes, giving instruction in eight to twelve different subjects. Another reported one teacher, three-fourths of the superintendent's time also being devoted to the high school, and fourteen to twenty-two subjects of instruction; another twenty-two subjects and two teachers; another twenty-six subjects and one teacher aided by the superintendent, and so on. These are fair examples of the requirements and provision for instruction of most of our high schools. Comments are not necessary as to the results. A teacher who is required to give instruction in a half dozen distinct branches cannot accomplish much real worth in any one. Every teacher who is competent to teach at all must know that he is unable to cover so much ground, and should refuse to be a party to such fraudulent teaching. Fraudulent is not too strong a word to use in this connection.

The college professor must needs be "the most learned scholar in the world," to enable him to give instruction in three or four distinct subjects without fraud. The young lady or gentleman teacher in the average high school is required to attempt giving instruction in from six to twelve distinct subjects of the same character as these college studies, and the result is called a "liberal education." Is it not a little strange that what a learned professor in a college cannot attempt to do, without being charged with fraud, the public appears to expect young men and young women, trained and instructed probably in the same high school in which they have become teachers, to do with ease and dispatch?

The argument that the people want these schools and should therefore have them lacks confirmation.

If it is true that the public can afford to support schools of a grade higher than the primary grades, the question then is, Does it pay? Will it not pay the public better to devote the money now expended on high schools to the primary schools? There is need of making the training and instruction in them more practical and more individualized, employing many more teachers for these schools, so that intelligent effort can be given to each child; conforming to each child's needs, its heredity and environment, its home life, its family history, developing each child the most and best possible, and considering how long each child is likely to continue in school, so that instead of being prepared for some other

grade or school the child may never enter, it is prepared, every hour, the best possible for life, good citizenship, good individuality.

At least it might be well to reverse the present order, and instead of expending ninety per cent of all public school funds, as is now done, on the high schools into which but about three per cent of the pupils enrolled in the public schools ever enter, and from which less than one per cent are graduated, let us expend the ninety per cent on the primary schools, and let us employ there the best and highest talent, culture, morality, refinement, skill and fitness, inborn and acquired, that money can secure, remembering that we are paying for something every way better and of more worth, to the state and to each individual of us all, than the leaders of the army or the law or medicine or the pulpit or even the press can give us. We are contributing to the doing away with the expense of providing and conducting poorhouses, asylums and reformatories, because with the proper training and education of each individual child in all the State we shall in time develop them into men and women having healthy bodies, healthy minds, healthy morals, based on reasonable standards, and these will think and be and do only in healthy ways.

No one will deny that, in general, men and women can do better whatever they undertake to do, if they have received much good instruction in the sciences, in languages, the arts, etc.; but all know that life is too short for any one who must needs earn, under present conditions, that which he is to eat and wear, to acquire all valuable or useful knowledge, or more than a modicum of what is useful, and withal make his daily living.

There must needs, then, be a limit to the school training of the youth — a limit to the subjects taught in the schools. This limit should vary according to the character and object of the school. The primary object of the public school is to make good, safe citizens, and the design of public education, so far as state support is concerned, is to go no farther with the instruction than will prepare the average youth for good, safe citizenship.

Fifty per cent of the youth enrolled in the public schools of the state do not attend school more than four years, and, under their existing circumstances, cannot attend more than

five or six years; seventy-five per cent stop attending school before entering the eighth year or grade, and ninety-seven per cent do not attend beyond the eighth year; that is, they do not attend school or accept instruction beyond the primary grade.

Now since the great mass, of those who attend or should attend the public schools, are poor, and must take no time in preparing for the work they must do and the lives they must live, beyond that needed to make the speediest practical and suitable preparation; since a majority of the patrons of the public schools cannot do without the labor of their children, and therefore cannot give them time to attend school longer than five or six of the years devoted to primary instruction; and since a practical, substantial knowledge of the subjects now generally included in the primary course of instruction, with the best possible training accompanying this instruction, is of vastly greater practical benefit to each child and to the state than is the necessarily superficial education in these and the additional high school studies, — I believe that some decided reform in public school management and provision must come, and for the good of popular education this reform should come soon.

The welfare and prosperity of the people and of the state do not require, and will not be enhanced by, a more liberal education in the direction promised but not provided by the high school; so long, at least, as the primary schools are subordinated to and starved and beggared by a mere preparation for the high school. What the people need and what the state needs is more and better school rooms, more and better teachers in and for primary instruction. Let the state supplement primary instruction by providing for and maintaining industrial training — workshops for instruction in the mechanic arts — and thereby confer benefits upon the many who desire and need to become skilled in industrial pursuits. The state will thus insure its own prosperity by preparing for the prosperity of its future citizens.

After the state has made full provision for and seen to it that this primary school work is well done, then, but not until then, secondary education at public expense might be provided for. Then provision might properly be made by the state for the maintenance of a system of high schools, colleges and universities.

AN ETHICAL BASIS FOR HUMANITY TO ANIMALS.*

BY ALBERT LEFFINGWELL, M. D.

Not long ago, I found myself in London, standing with uncovered head before what seemed the figure of an old and venerable man, seated in an armchair and dressed in the quaint costume of sixty years ago. Without close inspection the visitor would not suspect that behind that face was a human skull, or that beneath those faded garments was an articulated skeleton. Nowhere on earth is there a more singular tomb than this of Jeremy Bentham—the English philosopher and philanthropist, to whom belongs the high honor of having advocated the rights of animals forty years before the first step to their legal protection was taken by any government in the whole world.

It is a strange yet instructive story. The old man's life had been wholly devoted to humane ends. Approaching death at the ripe age of eighty-four, he found popular prejudice roused to the highest pitch against the study of human anatomy by the dissection of the dead. Graves were found desecrated, murders had been committed, doctors were mobbed, riots were frequent. The situation was peculiar. Here was a study absolutely necessary as the foundation of medical science, yet one which is regarded with abhorrence by the vast majority of those who are to profit by its revelations. The great objection in the popular mind was the fact that the rich were exempt, the poor were the only victims.

"But what right," asked Bentham, "have you or I to insist that the bodies of the poorest outcasts shall be subjected to what we abhor? Upon what ethical basis shall I suggest the tacit demand that the pauper shall make a sacrifice to science which I decline to make myself?" And so the old philosopher determined to undergo, for the benefit of his fellow-men, a renunciation which has no counterpart in history. By written directions, the philanthropist bequeathed his dead body to the investigations of science, in whose temple—and not the grave—it rests to-day.

* The substance of this paper was read before The Humane Congress of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, Oct. 12, 1893.

It was in that presence, pondering on that strange abnegation, that unique sacrifice, that there came into my mind an answer to a problem which had long perplexed me. That perplexity I propose to state; and at the same time to define the doctrine under which, for myself, it wholly disappeared.

This is the problem: *To what ethical principle or rule of right and wrong may mankind, at all times, confidently appeal for the determination of the quality of conduct toward the lower animals?*

To make the question practical and definite, let me suppose myself a physiologist, an amateur investigator into certain curious problems of life and death, and that for a trifling sum I have become the possessor of a half-grown dog. Bone and sinew, brain and nerve, intelligence and sensibility—it belongs wholly to myself. Over it my power is nearly absolute; I may sell it, give it away, or kill it by ordinary methods whenever I please.

But suppose I wish to go farther. In my studies I have adopted a theory regarding the action of certain nerves, differing somewhat from that usually accepted; and I wish to demonstrate this hypothesis to a friend by means of an experiment upon my dog which will involve, necessarily, the infliction upon it of prolonged and excruciating pain. Perhaps it will be necessary to invoke human ingenuity in order to protract, as far as possible, its suffering and existence. It is a custom sometimes to prepare for a physiological demonstration several hours in advance. There is to be made an experiment on Monday morning, let us say; and so on Sunday afternoon, while all the Sunday schools of a vast city are teaching children their duties to God, the man of science has been known to stroll to his laboratory, to cut at leisure through the living tissues, to set in motion the machinery for maintaining artificial breathing, and then to leave the creature, as in a vice, to a long night of suffering and fear until "wanted" the following day. This procedure also, I propose to copy. Now, what shall constrain me? To what influence will you appeal that I restrain myself?

Do you tell me at once that this is a "vivisection" and therefore must be wrong? But suppose I refuse to admit your conclusion? "Is it, then, wrong," I ask, "for me to pull to pieces this flower which I have just plucked from the parent stem? Is it, then, a sin to cut a living tree? These also are 'vivisections' in one sense."

"Ah, but the animal feels pain."

Is that your only objection? Do you, then, never cause an animal to suffer pain for your convenience?

"But in killing a seal for its fur, or an ox for its flesh, the animal is subjected to no more pain than is necessary," you reply.

Very good; I also agree (and I smile to think how many feebly

protesting and half-awakened consciences this very promise will put at once to sleep again), I promise also to inflict no "*unnecessary*" pain.

"But your experiment will be absolutely useless."

Yes, so far as the treatment or prevention of disease is concerned; but I do not admit that the satisfaction of my scientific curiosity on any point is absolutely "useless" to myself.

Now what will you do? Will you invoke the law? But so long as I keep within certain easy formalities there is nowhere in America the slightest restriction to physiological experiments, no matter what degree of pain or prolongation of suffering they may involve.

Will you appeal to religion? Why, there is not a creed in Christendom which clearly teaches as a dogma of religion, even that simple duty of kindness to animals! Where will you find it in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, or in the Westminster Confession of Faith? I once ventured to call the attention of Cardinal Manning to a statement of Philip Gilbert Hamerton, who had asserted that the Catholic church denied the existence of any duties to creatures beneath us, and the cardinal's reply was favorable only so far as this; that "The Catholic church has never made any authoritative declaration as to our obligations to the lower animals." I do not dispute certain inferences we may be entitled to draw from the precepts of all religions; but in respect to positive obligations the creeds are silent, one and all.

Would you invoke public sentiment? I think it will fail you. Only let me use the pacifying shibboleth of certain writers, and claim that all of my investigations are in the general line of researches made to "mitigate human suffering and prolong human life," and there is hardly any extremity of torture which the public opinion of to-day will not sanction and excuse.

Shall pity be expected to restrain me? But suppose I have lost the capacity for pity, when my ambition to discover something or other is once aroused? It has happened to others. Like Dr. Klein of London, I may have come to "have no regard at all" for the suffering of my victim; "no time for thinking what the animal will feel."* It is related by Dr. Latour of the great Magendie that at one of his public lectures a dog upon which he was making one of his most cruel experiments, twice escaped from under the implacable knife and threw its paws about Magendie's neck, pleading in the only language it knew for a little mercy; yet none the less was it sacrificed that the ambitious scientist might demonstrate for the hundredth time an abstract theory. Seneca tells us that when Parrhasius, the great-

* See Dr. Klein's answer before the Royal Commission (Query 3,539).

est of Grecian artists, was painting his "Prometheus torn by a Vulture," he caused a captured prisoner of war to be tortured to death in his studio, that he might copy from nature the expression of agony; and musing above some mutilated victim whose sad eyes make mute appeal for pity, I can fancy some Mantegazza or Brown-Sequard to make reply:—

"Pity thee? So I do;
I pity the dumb victim at the altar,
But doth the robed priest for his *pity* falter?
I'd rack thee though I knew
A thousand lives were perishing in thine;
What were ten thousand to a fame like mine?"

Will science assist one? Not by any suggestion of ethical restraints, for she knows none. Her only function is to discover and to reveal the hidden facts of existence—to sift the knowable from the unknown. Yet within the lifetime of most of us, has not science invested this whole question with a new aspect? For eighteen centuries of Christian civilization the wisest and best of mankind looked at the under-world of animated nature as beings infinitely different from ourselves, and beneath us in origin and destiny. But modern science has promulgated a new doctrine. No theory is more firmly held by biologists to-day than that hypothesis of Darwin which derives from the same far-distant ancestry both animals and man. Only a few thousand years ago, and your ancestors and mine were the lowest type of savage barbarians, dwellers in caves, clothed in skins: almost indistinguishable—except by the guttural elements of vocalized speech—from the animals they hunted and upon which they fed.

"Carry your imagination still backward into the awful darkness of uncounted ages; and, some millions of years ago, even *your* ancestors, O professor of biology, and those of the whimpering dog beneath your knife, were of the same species of living creatures," speaks the science of to-day. "Out of the same black darkness, struggling for existence, you have emerged—in far different form, but yet closely related, not only by origin but in every function of organized existence! That quivering nerve acts precisely as your nerves would behave under like excitation, and it will feel the same anguish yours would feel. That brain you are about to penetrate, hides in some infinitely mysterious way the germs of mind; the elements, at least, of intelligence, obedience, reverence, contrition, faithfulness and unselfish affection. Ah, sir! your keenest knife cannot lay bare these mysteries, nor find the chambers of the soul where these lie hid; your most potent microscope will somehow fail to reveal the substance of that love, devotion and fidelity which sometimes seem almost to surpass our own."

—*If these physiologists would look, instead of into the entrails of a living dog, into his eyes, they would find there the improbability of a lie.* — Richard Wagner — *Trifles* —

So much indeed, science will tell us. "These despised beings are your kindred," she asserts, but there she ceases to speak. Whether our conduct toward them is right or wrong is a question beyond her province to decide.

Yet if all these fail us, where shall we look? It seems to me that the decision of ethical questions like this can rest only upon some formula of absolute justice which mankind shall gradually accept as the philosophical expression of the highest excellence. For, in the end, we are governed by our ideals. What is duty? Simply the highest ideal of action. In every age, there have been conceptions of righteousness nobler and better than the average of human conduct. Toward these ideals, recognizing their justice, humanity gradually advances. The scoff of one period becomes the formulated law of another. No great reform has ever been carried through, which at the beginning was not greeted with derision and stigmatized as a glittering but impracticable dream.

Now I think it is a fact accepted by every school of philosophic thought that in the determination of the ethical righteousness of our relations to one another, no higher test has ever been proposed than that golden rule, first formulated five centuries before Christ, which defines as the ideal of conduct that we treat others as we would have others treat us. In Book XV. of the Analects of Confucius we read that one of his disciples asked him saying, "Master, is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?" The master answered: "Is not *reciprocity* such a word? That which you do not want done to yourself, *do not to others.*"

When, later, this precept was enunciated by the Founder of Christianity, who can begin to estimate its potency in the stimulation of that humane sentiment, that pity for suffering, which underlies our modern civilization? Imperial Rome was more magnificent than our grandest metropolis; but what an infinite chasm separates the Roman amphitheatre, where wornout slaves were thrown to wild beasts, from the hospitals and dispensaries of Chicago or New York! Under the Coliseum is one ideal; under the Maternity Hospital is another; the ideal makes the difference in the two forms of civilization. It is needless to say that our lives do not wholly conform to our ideals; but does that nullify them? Above the most selfish of our acts is ever the nobler possibility which we have missed, but toward which we strive, nevertheless.

I believe, therefore, that with the increasing development of moral sensibility the time is approaching when humanity, accepting what science reveals of our common relationship and origin, shall make the ideal basis of conduct to the entire animal crea-

tion, some paraphrase of this same rule. Its expression as a formula will perhaps be something similar to this:—

"Our moral duty to all living creatures, from the highest to the lowest form of life, is to treat them precisely as we ourselves should be willing to be treated for the same objects in view, were we instantly to exchange with them every limitation and circumstance of their condition and form."

Is this a practicable rule? How will it work in daily life? In the exercise of our supremacy over the animal world three phases of conduct are subject to question: their slaughter for our uses, as for food or fur; their torment or destruction solely for amusement and sport, and that experimentation upon them for scientific purposes, known as vivisection. How would each phase of conduct be affected were it governed by that formula of ethics I have ventured to suggest?

(1) In the first place, it will not mean the abrogation of the right of the higher intelligence guided by ethical ideals *to decide what is best*. We do not regard it as a contravention of the golden rule that truant schoolboys are severely punished, or that the jailer keeps well guarded his prison gates. Not what they might selfishly wish is the rule; but rather what, under clearer light, even the schoolboy or the criminal would acknowledge as justifiable and right. For this reason, I am inclined to think that man's right to terminate painlessly the existence of beings below him, for sufficient reason, will not need for the present to be abandoned. We think of death from the standpoint of personal deprivation; but to an animal it means cessation of no high purposes, no great hopes, and, generally speaking, of no strong attachments. It is merely a slight abbreviation of existence; a termination which *may* be made far more painless than the exit by disease. If need be, then, the ox *may* die for the man. Still I do not disguise from myself the hope that the time *may* come when the substitutes for flesh as food shall be so universally procurable, so cheap and abundant, that the human race will find a far higher ideal than is generally held to-day, and refuse to sacrifice any life for the gratification of appetite alone.

(2) While I can easily bring myself to the conception of a willingness to yield mere existence for the actual necessities of beings almost infinitely higher than myself, yet it becomes quite another matter when I try to imagine a consent to suffer—even in the lowest forms of life—the *least useless pain*. I cannot do it. Judged from this standard of ethics, all forms of so-called "sport"—all that destruction of life merely for savage amusement and delight in killing something—must be regarded as immoral; and, ceasing to gratify our depraved "pleasure," will in time disappear. That vast sacrifice of song birds to the

evanescent fashion of feminine taste for adornment is not one that woman can justify to herself by this formula of right and wrong.

Much that to-day accompanies the killing of animals for food, will then be deemed unnecessary and morally wrong. If society decides that for man's benefit it must continue to take the life of animals, death will then be inflicted with the utmost precaution against the addition of one needless pang. Should it be impracticable to kill any creature except by the possible addition of extreme agony, we shall cease to use it as food. When we have learned to govern conduct by some higher ideal than now, we shall not fry living crabs, or roast live lobsters. You tell me, laughingly perhaps, that such creatures do not feel pain very acutely; *but how do you know?* In their place would you take the chance? Science cannot do more than give a guess. To the possibility of such pain as death by fire implies, I do not think I have the ethical right to subject any living creature; for they are chances for suffering that for no conceivable gratification to another would I take on myself. And with butchery in other ways, there is vast need of reform; not only as regards the needless suffering of animals on cars or cattle-ships, in transit from the pasture to the shambles, but also at the shambles themselves. It will all assuredly be remedied as the conscience of humanity awakens at last to a keener appreciation of the evils that exist.

We come finally to the question of scientific investigation. How will it be affected by appeal to any standard of conduct based upon the golden rule?

It will be seen at once that the problem we have vainly attempted to solve by appeal to religion, to law and to science, finds immediate solution if tried by the suggested test. Can we imagine that the physiologist ever lived, who, under the form of "our humble cousin the orang-outang" (to use Professor Huxley's significant designation), would be willing to suffer prolonged agony and death, merely to demonstrate to students or others, facts which are *beyond all question or doubt?*

Changed by some magic wand of Circe to the similitude of a dog or cat, would not the most ardent investigator protest vigorously, if he could speak, against the injustice of using *his* nervous system for the torturing experiments of Mantegazza or Cartex, when such investigations, however "original," have no conceivable connection with the alleviation of human ailments or the treatment of disease? When Chauveau "consecrated" to extremest torture more than eighty domestic animals, chiefly horses old and worn out in man's service—and all merely to gratify what may be called an impertinent curiosity, and confessedly

without the slightest idea of any practical benefit—we cannot dream of *his* willingness to be sacrificed like his victims for a purpose so insignificant, for results so absolutely useless.

In the physiological laboratories of Europe and America, I doubt not that myriads of sentient creatures are made to taste all the physical bitterness of death that can be felt or conceived, in experiments that before some future tribunal of conscience will be universally judged as crimes against justice and mercy, for which there exists no palliating excuse.

Before this ideal of conduct, then, would *all* scientific inquiries involving the death of animals, be wholly and unequivocally condemned? Do cases ever arise where living creatures, such as a rat, a mouse, or a guinea-pig are subjected to experiments which the investigator could honestly be willing to endure for the same object, were his human shape and circumstance to dwindle to the limitations of the animal? The question is not an easy one; and I confess I do not see how it is to be quickly answered. While we arraign before every ethical ideal the cruel curiosity that forgets the pangs it inflicts, it is but justice to remember that all investigation is not synonymous with torture, nor even synonymous with death.

But how far are the leading physiologists of our time from even imagining the existence of limitations—and least of all, of any limitations founded upon a conception of the ethical rights of animals, or of altruistic ideals! In the presence of abuses which infiltrate the whole practice of scientific research; in a land which tacitly sanctions the yearly repetition of the worst atrocities of vivisection—without supervision, without record, without control—simply that the sight of torture may help stupidity to remember what science affirms, it seems to me useless to discuss, on this occasion, the permissible limitations of a practice that thus far refuses to consider or to submit to *the slightest legal oversight* in any American commonwealth. The great, practical need of the hour in regard to vivisection seems to me the creation of an intelligent public sentiment which shall at least recognize the existence of *abuse*, and upon that recognition build reform.

Can this ideal standard for the regulation of conduct toward the beings below us, be made practically applicable in our daily lives? May I suggest your personal experiment with it as far as you can go? Surely in the perplexities of decision between right and wrong, we shall not wander far astray if in our hearts we carry that sublimest prayer,

“Teach me to feel another's woe,
 * * *
 That mercy I to others show,
 That mercy show to me.”

Eighty years ago, when Lord Erskine arose in the British Parliament to suggest and advocate a law protecting domestic animals from wanton cruelty, he was greeted with shouts of derision and contemptuous applause. In remembrance of that mockery, which now seems so strange to us, one may take refuge while suggesting that at some future day, man's highest ethical ideals may include within their scope the conduct of humanity toward the entire animated world.

NOTE. — At the annual meeting of the American Humane Association at Philadelphia, in October, 1892, resolutions concerning the practice of vivisection were offered by Dr. Leffingwell, seconded by Dr. Morris of Baltimore, and formally adopted by the association. As a summary of the arguments urged by the writer of the preceding article from his standpoint of restriction and supervision of animal experimentation, these resolutions are herewith presented: —

"Whereas, The evidence before this association seems clearly to prove that upon the continent of Europe atrociously severe and cruel experiments upon the lower animals are frequently performed; and

"Whereas, While such experiments are restricted in England, yet there exists in no one of our American states any legal restriction preventing the most painful experiments of continental physiologists from being repeatedly performed even for the demonstration of well-known facts: therefore,

"Resolved, That the American Humane Association, while not pronouncing itself at this time either for or against physiological research in general, does hereby declare that, in its judgment, the repetition of painful experiments before classes of medical students merely for the purpose of illustrating physiological truths is contrary to humanity and ought not to be continued. It agrees with the opinion of the president of the Royal College of Physicians, England, that no experiment should be repeated in medical schools 'to illustrate what is already established'; with the opinion of Professor Huxley, that 'experimentation without the use of anaesthetics is not a fitting exhibition for teaching purposes'; with Sir James Paget, surgeon to the queen, that experiments for the purpose of repeating anything already ascertained ought never to be shown to classes; with Dr. Rolleston, professor of physiology at the University of Oxford, that 'for class demonstrations limitations should undoubtedly be imposed, and these limitations should render illegal painful experiments before classes.'

"Resolved, That, acting upon such scientific opinion and acknowledging itself in accord therewith, the American Humane Association hereby respectfully urges upon the legislatures of every state in the Union the enactment of laws which shall prohibit, under severe penalty, the repetition of painful experiments upon animals for the purpose of teaching or demonstrating well-known and accepted facts."

EARLY ENVIRONMENT IN HOME LIFE.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

Children are more influenced than we imagine by the invisible effects of ideas. —
Balzac.

Children have ears like the very spies of nature herself; eyes that penetrate all subterfuge and pretence. It is good to set before them the loftiest ideals that have lived in human reality; but the best ideal of all has to be portrayed by the parents in the realities of home life at home. The teaching that goes deepest will be indirect, and the truth will tell deepest on them when it is overheard. When you are not watching and the children are—that is when the lessons are learned for life —
Gerald Massey.

I.

To my mind it is perfectly clear that both heredity and prenatal conditions exert a positive influence on the child. Doubtless the reason why these influences have been questioned is due chiefly to the lack of that comprehensive investigation which broad-minded thinkers, with no special bias, are capable of giving a many-sided problem. The subject of life in its prenatal and its early post-natal states has been strangely neglected by our civilization, and those who have given serious attention to the problems have been, as a rule, so impressed with some special phase of the question as to attach undue importance to it while they have ignored or minimized the influences of other important factors.

When we consider the subject broadly, I think that we shall find that heredity, prenatal conditions and early environment all exert a positive influence on life, and that prenatal culture can do much, despite the contention of some modern scientists, to overcome hereditary tendencies, while through proper environment for the child, from the cradle to adolescence, evil hereditary taints and unfortunate prenatal influences may be largely overcome. In the present paper I wish to notice the destiny-stamping power of early environment.

When the infant enters the garden of life it comes under the spell of influences which are frequently as subtle as they are enduring in effect and life-moulding in character; influences which cast the deciding weight in the balance of life, giving supremacy to the animal or spiritual dominion. It has been observed that animal organisms live by devouring others, and that spiritual organisms live by aiding others; and this broad generalization carries with it a truth of supreme importance to humanity, as it indicates the dividing line between true and false civilization. The civilization dominated by the *self idea* is

built on sand; it cannot escape destruction. The civilization which rests on the golden rule will endure the shock of ages and grow younger with each advancing step.

Once I dreamed that I was sailing in a tropical sea; the vessel approached an island; a scene of splendor met my view. A gorgeous palace, whose gilded turrets flashed in the glory of the rising sun, rose before me. On parts of the walls and projections workmen were raising beautiful carved statues or golden urns filled with rare trailing vines, while beyond them I noticed that the vast flat roof was a tropical garden; rare and luscious fruits hung on vigorous plants and vines; the most gorgeous flowers bloomed on every side, and amid the fruits and flowers I could see men, women and children dancing, singing and banqueting. Rich strains of music floated from the garden, and I thought this must be a vision of paradise, for all seemed so happy. I noticed, however, that the lower walls of the palace were hedged from view by closely planted rows of trees and shrubs. When I landed on the soft white sandy beach and approached the palace, an old man, with long, dishevelled locks, advanced from a clump of trees. In earnest tones he urged me "not to enter the palace of folly, as the hour of its fall was at hand."

"Is it, then, evil to be happy?" I said, without slackening my pace.

"No," replied the stranger, in tones so majestic that I involuntarily paused. "*Laughter* should be the child of heaven, and joy that springs from the soul is divine; but all true things have their counterfeits, and the purest gifts may become poisoned. You have noticed the clear water trickling from the snows near the summit of great mountain peaks; you have noticed water in foul and stagnant ponds. In each case it was water you saw, but one was pure and refreshing, the other noxious and loathsome. Now come with me."

Together we neared the palace, and pausing, he pointed out, as I gazed with eyes dilated with horror, that the lower walls of the palace were built of human bodies, each unfortunate victim being rolled into a coil and held in place by a more or less pliable band. Between these human coils was earth, which partially supported the massive framework above, and from the earth grew brambles. Each captive had one liberated hand in which he held a cup. At intervals the wines and refuse of the banquet hall were thrown over the parapet with the flourish of trumpets. At such moments the hollow-eyed living supports of the palace held out their cups in shrivelled hands and caught what they could of the wine and food which fell. Sometimes they set the cups in niches on the earth wall around them and gathered wild berries which grew on the bramble bushes. I observed that whenever a

statue was placed in position on the parapet or a new vase secured upon the edge of the wall, a terrible tremor went down the broad expanse, and every living brick spoke in its individual contortions, even more pitifully, of new agony experienced by each, than the wild cry that went up from a million despairing throats.

Transfixed I gazed until the old man touched my arm, and said: "You see the palace so glorious at the summit is builded upon sand, and the living wall will soon move, not in the rhythmic vibration of a million regularly breathing bodies, but in its stead a convulsive tremor will be followed by an upheaval as tragic as the phenomenon of an earthquake, as irresistible as the fury of a tempest-lashed sea. Then will fall the temple of selfish greed. But there will some day arise a palace not builded of human bricks, nor yet reared by slaves; a palace in which each stone will be quarried by a hand made strong through freedom; a palace builded by workers made willing through the enjoyment of justice, whose minds are luminous with love, whose hearts are thrilled with hope, and whose voices are rendered musical by a great and abiding content. Then all the people will enjoy the pleasures, and life will wear the garb of morning. Then shall be reached higher and nobler achievements than are even dreamed of to-day. And this great gladness will come to humanity when man learns that supreme happiness falls to the individual only when he furthers that which makes for the happiness of all."

And this, it seems to me, is the lesson of lessons for parents and educators. The civilization which is to endure must rest on the spiritual instead of the animal ideal of life. Until this thought is burned into the conscience of humanity, the most we can hope for will be temporary rifts in a cloud-canopied life. Enduring civilization rests on the recognition of spiritual supremacy in the individual mind as the one and only key to pure happiness.

The chief aim of every parent and teacher should be to call into vigorous activity the spiritual or higher life of the child while it is very young; awaken the noblest and best ere sin, passion and animality harden, crust over and encase the throne room of the soul. An eminent French author has recently observed that "He alone is wholly saved whom heroism constantly inspires and in whom love never sleeps." Once bring a child into that great and divine freedom in which he feels a passion for justice, which causes him to fall in love with sacrifice, and you have placed his soul *en rapport* with the universe. No richer dower could be given him than this. Henceforth he will be one of the world's saviours, while to his soul will come a joy as indescribable as it is serene; a peace which passeth understanding which the world cannot take away. *If this is true*

Then the absolute truth of The Bible is established.

II.

(1) The ideals which fill the mental horizon of youth color life for all after years. They are the wellsprings which water the thought-garden of the soul. Somewhere I have read or heard a story which illustrates this thought so clearly that I will briefly relate it, as nearly as memory will permit:—

A beautiful girl had recently crossed the threshold of fashionable social life. She was in the midst of a merry round of frivolous entertainments and living entirely for self-enjoyment. One night at a magnificent reception she was introduced to a brilliant young man, whose pure child nature was aglow with that high ambition to do good and rise to eminence by honest and noble endeavor which is so often found in clean-souled youth. During the evening these two young people were much together. They seemed singularly congenial, and the young man confessed to the girl his secret aspirations.

"I shall rise some day," he said. "I am determined to reach the halls of state that I may battle for conditions which will make possible a nobler womanhood and a purer manhood. I shall always throw my influence on the side of justice, even though I stand alone. I long to enter the field against the selfishness and greed which are mercilessly crushing the poor and driving to the level of animals those who should be rising to the plane of the divine."

Thrilled by these words the soul of the beautiful girl awoke. She felt a new life and a higher hope enter her being. He had said, "When my education is finished I will find you, and perhaps you will help me map out my life work and aid me in realizing my ideals." This outgushing of confidence and implied love had come in one of those supreme moments when youth is still glorious in the simple sincerity of naturalness. It had been uttered in a recess in the conservatory, amid the fragrance of flowers and the gorgeous splendor of tropical vegetation. But ere the girl had more than stammered her own feebleness and misgivings, friends had appeared and the two were swept apart.

The next morning a despatch summoned the girl to her distant home, where a loved parent was ill. The youth entered college to finish his education. The girl did not see him again for years, but the powerful inspiration awakened by the lofty ideal which had been photographed upon her mind changed her whole life. In a way she lived apart. "I will rise to his level, I will be worthy of his royal nature," she said to herself now and again, as the moral enthusiasm of the young man and the vivid mental imagery called up by his burning words came into her mind.

Days, months and years passed, yet the high ideal remained.

It became the most real thing in her life, an ever present incentive to high thinking and noble acting. Thus with each succeeding month she grew statelier and lovelier under the inspiration of the ideal of a clean, brave and manly nature battling against error, injustice and heartless greed. This idealization of a human being with soul ablaze with fire from truth's altar and glorified by love, quickened the sleeping god nature within her, and in time connected her soul with the divine life which calls the human spirit upward, as the sun calls forth the planted seed. The highest thoughts, the noblest aspirations, were the companions of her dreams. Broad and gentle sympathy and deeds of loving kindness characterized her life. Wherever she went she left a fragrance sweet as the breath of the mignonette, while in her search for knowledge she learned to think broadly and justly.

Thus passed four years. She refused many suitors — they fell so far below her ideal. "Some day he will come," she said, "my royal-souled lover, and I must be worthy of him."

One day, when visiting some friends in the city, she attended a reception. Among those she met was the young man who had been her inspiration — or perhaps I should say the wreck of the young man, for he had fallen so low she scarcely recognized the physical lineaments of his face.

"Have you forgotten your dream of a noble life — to champion the cause of humanity?" she asked with suppressed emotion.

"Oh," he replied with a slight shrug, "the sentimental dream of the boy has given way to practical acceptance of life as we find it. In Rome, you know," he smilingly continued, "I have learned that if a man is to have a good time in this life he must not be a prude, and he must make money."

Her great dark eyes, though moistened, seemed to grow more luminous as she said, "I want you to be perfectly frank, and tell me if you have been happier since seeking enjoyment after the manner of shallow, sensuous and selfish pleasure-seekers than you were the hour your soul shadowed forth the highest aspirations and most divine impulses of your nature, the evening when I met you?"

He paused a moment. An internal conflict was visibly going on, and then, as though yielding to the more royal soul, he slowly replied: "You seem to compel me to speak the truth, so I may say frankly, No, I have never known the rare, high pleasure I knew before I fell. I have burned up the best in my being, and am to-day a wreck. At college I came into the atmosphere of moral death. High impulses and lofty ideals were laughed at. Even the ethics taught in the recitation room were taught in a perfunctory way. I had plenty of money, and in time my sensi-

bilities became blunted. I yielded to the lower voices in my nature, turned the key upon the heaven-lighted chamber of my heart and descended to the basement of my being. From thence my point of view changed. I desired to acquire money, and from college I went into speculation. I have made much and lived a clubmans' life. The world calls me a fine financier, my associates a good fellow; but since seeing you I feel how miserable a thing it is to be a fallen man. I would not dream of asking you to descend so low as to marry me, but I do ask for the inspiration of your moral support in an effort to redeem, as far as possible, my lost manhood."

This story illustrates two great truths which, sooner or later, every deep student of life comes to appreciate. It shows the power of the ideal and the influence of environment. When parents appreciate the soul-moulding power of the ideal they will fill the chambers of the child mind with pictures which will develop the divine so that the low, base and selfish impulses will shrivel in the presence of that which in essence is eternal, luminous and life-giving. Fill the child mind with high, pure ideals. One of the most efficacious ways of doing this is to tell him the stories of the noblest, finest and bravest lives which have blossomed along the pathway of time rather than those who have reddened earth with blood.

Tell the child those stories in the life of Jesus which illustrate the fine, sweet, human love and sympathy of the great Nazarene. Tell him the story of Epictetus, the little slave and cripple who was also one of the noblest Stoic philosophers; a man whose life will be an inspiration to any child. Go a step further, and develop his memory by giving him to commit some of the thought gems of each great thinker who has written words of moral inspiration. If teaching of Epictetus have him memorize some such golden thoughts as these: "Do what is right without regard to what people say or think." "Nothing is nobler than high-mindedness, gentleness and doing good." "What ought not to be done, do not even think." The child may not understand just what these words mean when he learns them, and it will be well to illustrate the meaning of nobleness, high-mindedness and gentleness by telling him stories exemplifying each. But whether this is done or not the words memorized will linger in the corridors of the soul to battle for virtue at a later day.

In like manner narrate the story of Socrates; how he died; why he was put to death, and what he taught. Tell him about Marcus Aurelius, who was born to the purple and who demonstrated that it was possible for a man to be high-minded and moral in the midst of a sea of vice and corruption. And so, passing down the current of time, take the lives of the moral and

intellectual heroes as models, and dwell upon each in such a way as to make the child fall in love with virtue, justice and truth. Tell him the story of such lives as those of Howard, Florence Nightingale, Dorothea Dix, and then fan into flame an enthusiasm for sacrifice and a great love for the unfortunate. By narrating the thrilling story of Victor Hugo's life and work, awaken in him a passion for justice for all the people. Bring him into the atmosphere of Whittier, and encourage him in memorizing some of the thoughts of the pure-souled prophet poet. By filling the mind with high ideals and exalted sentiments the great lesson of unselfishness, which is the capital lesson of life, will be rendered easy, but at all times woo the love side of life into its fuller expressions. Let the child feel how much the human sympathy expressed by Jesus has meant to man.

(2) In like manner go through memorable passages in history. Tell him the story of the Gracchi, and the age-long dream of man for a democracy in which right should prevail, when freedom should be found and when justice should blossom. Show him how idleness always leads to sin, and sin to injury of others and the misery of self; that the idle wealthy soon grow vicious, and the idle poor in time become depraved. Show him how great is the sin of idleness in the rich, but that until justice can be inaugurated the poor may be forced into idleness. Tell him the story of old John Ball and his dream of freedom for the people, and show him how the tide of democracy in England rose in the forties, when the corn laws fell and Great Britain welcomed the trade of the world. Tell him of the War of the Revolution, and at all times show him the persistency of the democratic ideal, and how it broadens and deepens with every age. Show him that a great responsibility rests upon him; that he must some day help further the cause of the race, and in order to bless the world he must be manly, frank, earnest and clear-minded.

(3) It would be well to read aloud to your child, and let all members of the home circle manifest interest in the reading by talking about the subject in hand. The schooling which I most prize and that which I believe was by far the most powerful in framing my tastes, desires and aspirations, was received when I was very young, partly from my mother, who never tired of telling me stories of ethical bearing, partly from my father, who through the long winter evenings used to read to my brothers and sister and myself from various works, and as he read he illustrated all obscure passages and explained words which were beyond our comprehension. He had the rare faculty of making us feel that he was the most interested one of the group, and the pleasure he evinced when we could recount the story from sacred or profane history, or the narrative he had read on a previous

occasion, sharpened our interest and strengthened our memory. I cite this to show how real and enduring are the lessons thus inculcated.

((4) Cultivate a love for the beauties of nature. Teach the child to draw deep draughts of delight from the flowers, bees and birds, the brooks and hills. It is wonderful to note how quickly the child mind responds when the beauty side of nature is called to his attention, and the pleasure thus stimulated grows with years. Its influence is pure and uplifting, and through it the mind soon becomes a treasury rich in valuable knowledge. Furthermore, you have taught the child the habit of observation, one of the most important lessons in a life.))

(5) Another thought should be ever borne in mind. At this period the child forms habits which will cling to him through life, and therefore it is important that he be taught not only to think truly but to act as becomes a citizen of Heaven. The oft quoted proverb, "The chains of habit are too weak to be felt until they are too strong to be broken," is as true as it is trite; and because of its truth it should dwell in the memory of every one who has brought an immortal soul into the world. Tennyson utters a great truth when he says:—

The sins that practice burns into the blood,
And not the one dark hour which brings remorse,
Will brand us, after, of whose fold we be.

Kindly, gently, but firmly, teach the little one to form good habits, as well as to harbor wholesome and inspiring ideals. Open all the soul's windows that look skyward.

(6) Explain to your child the mystery of his own being as soon as he can understand it. Be perfectly frank with him. Point out the danger of harboring an evil thought. Tell him of the leper of the East, and then show him that the perversion of his nature will cause moral leprosy, that the harboring of vile thought will unfit him for his part in the work for human redemption, and that as he would not think of gathering a handful of filth out of the gutter and carrying it wherever he went, so he should make it the rule of his life to banish from his mind any low story or vile thought which may be forced on his manhood.

Above all, be candid with your child. There is nothing to be feared from his knowing the truth about his being if it is told to him in the right way, at his parent's knee, and the whole subject explained with perfect freedom. On the other hand, if you neglect your duty, if you evade his questions, irreparable harm may ensue. For if his first knowledge of the most vital things comes from bad sources, if his imagination is excited by vague and mysterious hints accompanied by unhealthy suggestions, a wrong will be done to him which you can never right.

The girl should be treated as the boy. The broadening horizon in woman's life is placing her on essentially the same plane as man, and she should come under the same careful and wholesome instruction as to the mystery of life and the true and normal functions of her body.

Keep pure the atmosphere in which the child dwells. I do not think any of us will fully appreciate the far-reaching significance of this observation until the new psychology which will result from the revelations of hypnotism and psychic science shall be written. Bernard Bosanquet, in a recent work, makes some admirable observations on the infection of moral ideas. He says: "Everything is contagious. We are all of us, always, communicating ideas, and more especially moral ideas." And in another place he thus gives expression to a great truth. "The transformation of an individual mind is a change in the atmosphere of all surrounding minds; and the change of mental atmosphere is the most significant of all changes."

Shakespeare's great phrase, "There is no darkness but ignorance," if taken in its broadest sense, is one of the most profoundly true utterances ever made. Certainly in the domain of morals, and especially in the province of knowledge which relates to the sexual organism, ignorance is the bulwark of vice. Nothing, in my judgment, has contributed so materially toward the present moral dyspepsia, which is one of the most ominous signs of our times, as the false theory of many sincere but short-sighted people, who for generations have pursued the fatal policy of hiding from their children the great and all-important truths which would have prevented the pollution of boyhood and the ruin of girlhood.

Mr. W. T. Stead, after his extensive personal investigation of the traffic in girls in the old world, declared that "The ignorance of children fills the brothels." The thoughtful author of "Traffic in Girls" observes:—

Any one who has come in contact with erring girls and knows the causes of their downfalls, would be guilty of criminal negligence in writing on the subject, not to depict the awful evil of girlish ignorance of physiological laws, which renders maidenhood an easy prey to designing scoundrels.

Mothers and fathers will have much to answer for at the bar of God, because they allow a *pseudo* modesty to prevent them from explaining to their children the use and abuse of the sexual nature as they teach them the use and abuse of the stomach, or any other organ of the body. Why there should be such reserve in speaking of the reproductive organs, while all others are freely discussed, is a mystery, and can only be explained on the theory that the great majority of people are guilty of sexual excess, and do not like to discuss their own sins. — *The delirium of sex lies*

little a curse embedded in the mind of mankind and only pure religion (self-sacrifice) can remove it.

Under the false and fatal theory that ignorance is better than knowledge, conventionalism has changed the centre of gravity in morality from virtue founded in knowledge to the innocence of ignorance, and has almost obliterated in the public mind the line of demarcation between true and *pseudo* morality. The deplorable results are seen on every side. Hypocrisy prays in public and pollutes weak and unsuspecting innocence in seclusion. A nation of moral dyspeptics, reared in ignorance of the fundamentals of morality, and having been taught that the human body — God's temple for the indwelling of the divine spirit — is itself vile, base and impure, something to be hid, have through this ignorance come to the point when the exquisite statuary and painting of earth's master geniuses give their moral nature a distinct shock. This moral dyspepsia has gone so far, if we are to believe many upholders of the policy of ignorance and concealment, that our rising generation cannot look upon an exquisite statue without having the mind filled with sensual and debasing ideas. If this be true, and the present policy of ignorance and concealment be carried on, no youth or maiden will be able to visit the great cathedrals, museums and public squares of Italy without being morally contaminated by viewing the noble products of sculpture and painting. I do not believe we have reached the low moral ebb that those persons would have us believe, who cry against statuary and painting which deal with the human form. But the influence of this policy of ignorance and concealment does unmistakably tend to bring about this immoral, weak enervation which is but one step from pollution.

The innocence of ignorance is as frail as the virtue of knowledge is impregnable. Hence, I would have children protected by knowledge imparted by parents in that candid, simple and sincere manner which is so impressive to the young mind, and so will become great and sacred truths. I would show the child that a great and awful trust has been given him, and while no part of the body is impure, vicious or base, in the perversion of his nature or the degrading and misuse of his functions come pollution, disease and that degradation which will poison the soul, as the garment dipped in the blood of Nessus poisoned Hercules, though it merely touched his skin. A child properly taught by the parents whom he loves and reveres will be clothed in an armor such as the policy of ignorance and concealment knows not of.

III.

Every child who comes into this world has a right to the environments best calculated to call out all that is most divine in his being. Through unjust conditions, through the selfishness of

man and the low ideals which prevail in society, comparatively few of the little buds of life unfold in this congenial atmosphere; but there is a growing conviction in the minds of thoughtful people that children have sacred rights, which form a part of the broad vision of justice which is gilding the dawn of the new time; and to those who appreciate the solemn responsibilities resting upon their souls, I address the foregoing thoughts, which may be summarized in a few easily remembered lines:—

(1) Fill the childish mind with high, pure and attractive ideals.

(2) Familiarize him with the most luminous expressions of the divine which have blossomed along the pathway of time, and give him the essence of the highest thought which they who have scaled the Himalayas of spirituality have given to the world.

(3) Unfold to him the great pages of history which have shaped civilization, and which illustrate the presence and growth of the democratic ideal in the heart of man.

(4) Teach him to draw inspiration and pure pleasure from the beauty of flowers, fields and streams as did Burns, Wordsworth and Whittier, and awaken in him that deep, reverential love for nature and art which is essentially a religious passion, uplifting and onward impelling in its influence, and which at all times inspires moral rectitude; not in a tedious or didactic manner, but by illustrations, stories and by the example of a clean and holy life.

Develop the body, train the mind and give to the soul that fine, true culture which will enable it to guide and control every thought, and thus make life a noble epic at once human and divine.

CHICAGO'S MESSAGE TO UNCLE SAM.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

TWICE, in rapid succession, Chicago has reached the very summit of importance. Last year the glory of the great Exposition focused the gaze of the world upon her; and this year again all eyes have been drawn toward her by the lurid glare of anarchistic insurrection. It would be difficult to imagine a mightier contrast than that between the Columbian Fair and the railroad strike, yet the fundamental teachings of the two events are one and the same. The Exposition proved the splendid effects of wide coöperation under a single skilful control; the strike demonstrates the growing evils of the fierce antagonisms inherent in competition. The first was a magnificent object lesson in the benefits of unity of interest and harmony of action; the second a colossal illustration of the disastrous results of opposing interests and inharmonious activities. One says, "Competition is bad"; the other says, "Coöperation is good." Both say, "Let competition give place to coöperation." The truths philosophy has taught in vain, will be heeded when built into visible beauty, proclaimed in the thunder of federal guns, and illumined by the red light of a thousand burning cars. Chicago's method of instruction is very costly — almost a million dollars a day — but if the lesson is thoroughly learned it is worth a thousand times the cost.

When Uncle Sam went to the Fair and dwelt in its wonderful beauty, he said to Chicago, "Well done! You deserve to be queen of the West." Then he added to himself: "By time, I must build such cities as this all over my farm. It jist ain't livin' at all to go back to them dingy streets in Boston, New York and Philadelfy. I'm agoin' to tell my boys and gals they must pull together and model them cities over again — widen the streets, and h'ist the buildin's apart, and clean out the slums an' let in the air an' the sun. When a feller's ben a livin' a month in heaven he don't want tew leave onlest he kin take it with 'im. What's the use of livin' at all ef ye don't live right — ef ye don't live the best ye know heow?"

When the strike blockaded the mails and stopped the wheels of traffic, Uncle Sam began to growl, "You, Chicago, let my letters alone, an' the ice an' beef an' the other truck my folks want, or I'll know the reason why."

But as day after day went by, and the letters were still delayed, and the price of beef ran up the scale, and hundreds of cars were burned, and the troops had to fire on the mob, the old man grew thoughtful, and when he came out of his study he said: "By mighty, I've jest got tew take them ere railroads an' own 'em myself. I hain't goin' to fool along this way no more.

"An' yet, come to think on't, I spoze I'm not altogether lackin' o' blame myself fer this pesky muss. Ef I hadn't let Europe empty her sewers on to my farm, there wouldn't 'a' ben so much material fer mobs an' sich. An' ef I'd a-tuk the railroads an' telegraft into my own control I guess I wouldn't ben bothered with strikes. An' ef I'd 'a' giv sum attention tew fixin' up the relations of labor an' capital so's they wouldn't hev cause tew quarrel, I reckon thar wouldn't 'a' ben no temptation tew strike.

"Them flossifer fellers told me a good w'ile ago, w'at would happin ef I let all the riff-raff cum in, an' the quarrel of labor an' capital grow bigger each year; an' they told me I'd ort tew take holt of the railroads and telegraft tew, coz they air the narves an' arteries of my hull system; an' it *is* inconvenient fer a man not tew own an' control his own narves an' arteries, specially in case of a fight, fer the feller that doos control 'em might shut 'em off or disable 'em ef he felt friendly with the feller I was a-fightin', 'stid o' sendin' me plenty o' fodder an' forwardin' promptly my orders tew kick the said feller intew submission an' proper p'liteness.

"An' they said, the flossifers did, it would stop the unjust discrimination the railroads make atween classes, localities an' individoals, wich the interstate commerce law wuz intendid tew stop but hasn't. An' 'twould stop lots of inflewences corruptin' the legislaters, where the railroads 'lect their own henchmen an' buy up the others so's t' git jest the laws an' privileges they hanker tew hev. An' 'twould jest knock the bottom out frum under the Standard Oil Company and a lot of other consarns that is fleecin' my boys. An' 'twill be a good thing fer th' employees, tew, fer I allus treat mine better'n anybody else doos.

"An' w'at's more it will favor the public safety, fer I'll take out them ructionous stoves an' git rid of grade crossin's, old couplin's, an' sich, coz safety is more tew me than a few cents' extry profit, w'ich ain't the way with the railroads neow. Then ag'in I kin save my peepul \$400,000,000 a year by firin' 599 railroad presidents an' their staffs an' lawyers, competin' depots, and so forth, an' by savin's in passes, corruption expenses an' awl the economics of consolidation. An' the heft of stock gamblin' will hev tew stop fer the want of the stock.

"I vum, I b'lieve I'll jest do it right off. There's old Germany's gittin' along remarkable well with her public railroads,

an' I reckon I ort tew be jest as smart as she is any good day in the week. I'll borrow the money at three per cent an' take the roads, givin' a mortgage fer part. Then I'll pay off the debt from the traffic profits, an' in twenty odd years I'll own the thing clear. I'll run it on civil service plans, in course. I hain't such a tarnal fool as to change hands on the railroads every few years — I've had enough of that sort of nonsense already. They'll be put on the classified list at wunst, with the right in every employee to sue and git damages ef he's dismissed without good, substantial cause.

"It'll help tew stop the growth of millionaires — a critter I don't, in gen'ral, admire — an' aid the diffusion of wealth. I dew wish tew hev all my boys an' gals well off, an' I 'spect I haven't done all I ort tew tew make 'em so; but I guess this'll help quite consid'ble. Ef you take an' make the folks that do the work, the owners of the machinery an' capital, you won't hev no fuss between laborer an' capitalist, fer they'll both be the same identical feller.

"There's another big reason convinces me more an' more that I ort tew take holt of the railroads, an' in fact every other gre't big monopoly. It's putty clear the legislatur hadn't no right ever to grant a franchise of any kind to a private pusson or company. A franchise involves the power of makin' the peepul pay more than the reas'n'ble value of w'at the franchiser gives 'em — that's w'y everybody is so dumb'd anxious tew git a monopoly or sum sort of franchise; an' the excess the peepul pay is jest no more nor less than a tax put on 'em by the franchiser for his own private pupposes an' benefit.

"Well, neow, the legislatur hain't no right tew tax anybody fer *private* pupposes — that's settled; all the judges agree to that, even the s'preme court. Congriss can't do it, nor any state legislatur, because it's a violation of the inherent principles of free government, an' w'at the legislatur hain't no right tew do because it's onjust, it can't give nobody else a right tew do. It can't give a power or authority it hain't got itself, namely, power tew tax fer private pupposes; an' therefore it hain't got no right tew give anybody a franchise.

"The truth on it is that a *franchise or any monopoly in private hands involves taxation without representation*. The peepul that pay big prices fer coal hain't no representation in the coal combine that makes the big prices; but they've got tew hev coal and got tew pay the price, an' therefore it's a tax; an' it don't make no difference that the payment's compelled by necessity 'stid o' the sheriff. I stopped taxation 'thout representation in '76, an' I'm goin' tew stop it now; an' I'm goin' tew begin with the railroads an' telegraft an' express."

A REVIEW OF THE CHICAGO STRIKE OF '94.

BY WALTER BLACKBURN HARTE.

I.

IN the winter of 1773, in this country, there was an iniquitous conspiracy against the security and stability of commerce — a villainous and illegal boycott of some of England's most valuable mercantile and marine interests. A lot of hot-headed and irresponsible demagogues constituted themselves the leaders of the mob, and organized the lower classes of society into leagues and associations, "Sons of Liberty," and other ridiculous insurrectionary and threatening secret societies. The equitable relations of society were paralyzed; commerce was heedlessly obstructed and imperilled; and these low-lived outlaws of society succeeded in plunging the whole country into a state of political agitation and social excitement.

And for what? For what cause was the sacred buying and selling community of interest which binds society together for the divine purposes of economy put into jeopardy, bringing discomfort and denial and anxiety into hundreds of thousands of homes? For a *principle*. A principle! What had these brazen-lunged scoundrels to do with a principle? Did they not know who owned them? Was not *the law* writ large and plain enough? Of course it was; and there was not a shadow of justification for this villainous attempt to subvert the law of the realm. The common folk should work and work and starve, and trust the good God and leave principles alone. Principles are the amusements of their masters in their philosophic moods. Why, for a time legal business could not be tranquilly conducted, and the hardships borne by the unfortunate non-participants in this infamous and widespread boycott and disaffection can be imagined when it is stated that not even a marriage license could be legally issued! Even the multiplication of loyal citizens and industrial and military recruits was interfered with.

The governors had their hands more than full, and called upon the central government for moral support, which was furnished in the usual form — guns and bayonets. The traitors were then vigorously sought out by the militia and arrested when discovered, but, for the most part, they succeeded in evading the heavy hand of the outraged majesty of the law, and continued their vile machinations for the destruction of the equilibrium of society.

This vile conspiracy thrived upon opposition, and finally culminated, as such lawless agitations frequently do, in a wanton trespass of a state injunction, backed up by the moral force of King George's redcoats. This culminating overt act was the reprehensible destruction of good legal British tea in Boston harbor. The consignees of the tea were obliged to suffer with the would-be-married men and maidens at the hands of these incendiary ruffians. The law was treated with contempt, and from that moment the leaders of the mob forfeited any hesitating sympathy they might have had from wavering respectable people, coming under the influence of their enthusiasm and the fascination of the appeal to their honor and manhood, their sense of justice and self respect. When the sacred rights of property were invaded the "moral principles" of this horde of ruffians were unmasked.

I am horribly shocked to notice that to-day, that outrage upon property is not only condoned by men of all shades of opinion, by grave historians and sober authorities on law, but with a seeming depravity or obliquity of moral vision, which staggers the understanding of even the most cynical, it is gloried in. That grievous and wanton atrocity, in contravention of all our most sacred conceptions of the sanctity and immunity of property, committed in a moment of anarchical excitement and bravado, is nowadays, even after the passage of time has allowed for the restoration of cooler and better judgment, openly sustained and boasted of by the descendants of that lawless crew and their sympathizers—men whose social position and influence, cast for the stability of the established order of things, would seem to warrant our expecting a sort of vicarious repentance from them. But they boast of ancestors whose ignominy should lead them to bury their names deep down in oblivion beyond all possibility of haunting resurrection at the hands of spiteful genealogists.

Those infamous, anarchistic, frowzy rascallions of 1773 and their disreputable self-elected leaders, mere wide demagogic mouths, full of cant and hypocrisy and iniquity, outraged decent popular sentiment in every conceivable manner—as you can see by turning to the files of the respectable newspapers of the time. But in spite of the outlawry in which their blustering excess of license of speech put them, they persisted in holding their vulgar secret meetings and public meetings, and in God's name profaned the sacred names of liberty and freedom, asserting the supremacy of moral rights over legal enactments—the holies of the respectable mind—until the limit of administrative patience was reached.

The "best elements" in society in 1773-76 were naturally and reasonably indignant at such villainous profanation, at the desperate hardihood of intemperate language, demanding compromises and repeals of "infamous" legislation and judicial decrees, and they were not slow to invoke a power more potent than that of any other in the civilized world at that time — the power of the British arms.

But the rag-tag and bob-tail continued to croak their objectionable nonsense, and society continued to shudder to see such hideously vulgar handling of sacred themes and of questions relating to legislation and jurisprudence muddled up with "moral principles" by mere pot-house demagogues and low-born agitators, men worthy only of immediate hanging for disrespect for the awful majesty of mighty King George's *laws*. Moral principles and law belong to different categories. The Church is the domain of moral principles, and the poor should leave such things to their teachers for exposition on the Sabbath. The wild ravings and travesties of parliamentary procedure and wickedly subversive resolutions of that vile tatterdemalion mob of miserable empty-pockets, the lowest elements in society, were by no means allowed to pass without proper and fitting condemnation; the bankers and money lenders and the lawyers and merchants were loyal to the law; but there was apparently immoral force enough behind the scum to enable them to persist. The properly constituted authorities did not temporize or palter with such anarchistic elements, outside the pale of "respectable" society, lacking in respect for statutory enactments upon which the very stability of trade and transportation of commerce depended under the law, but military murders were resisted with violence, and — was God in His heaven? — sometimes successfully.

But could not the law have been repealed? Those rascals hinted at such infamy, and the law dealt with the vile traitors as they deserved. The law was duly enforced, and the blood of some of the ruffianly outlaws dyed the streets of Boston. The place where those anarchistic, irresponsible creatures fell in their tracks when the guardians of law and order vindicated the outraged dignity and authority of the state and of King George with ball and bayonet, is still pointed out in State Street, and a tablet has been put up near the spot by the Boston Historical Society in commemoration of this glorious vindication of the law. This event is called in our histories "the Boston Massacre," a designation which has doubtless arisen from the blithe love of our people for amiable irony and quips about even the sober matters of life and death, justice and eternal truth, which we can see evidenced in the genially ignorant clowning condescension of the editorial pages of our newspapers every morning. Even historical socie-

ties in America cannot commemorate the holy vindication of the law without what would probably appear to some other more melancholy and bilious races, a superfluous and bitter jest at the expense of the poor, misguided wretches who expiated their crimes with their lives.

That boycott of 1773 ended in final victory for that fantastic horde of ragamuffins and lawless, misguided riff-raff, and the majesty and dignity of both parliamentary enactments and judicial decrees were set aside and spat upon. That is sometimes the awful ending of these stubborn agitations by dastardly mob rulers and miscreants who raise a tempest for such unreal abstractions as moral freedom of action and liberty of speech. Samuel Adams, John Adams, John Hancock, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine and the rest of the ungodly wretches who inflamed the popular mind, should have decorated lamp posts—had the dignity of the law not been unfortunately overwhelmed by anarchy.*

By the irony of fate, which as often prospers villany as virtue, these miserable traitors have actually imposed upon the weak sympathies of a godless posterity. But respectable, law-abiding people are revenged in the fame of at least one of these "autocrats of misrule"—Thomas Paine, who is almost universally despised by all God-fearing people for the heinous and unforgivable crime of a lifetime of unswerving intellectual and moral integrity. Let his fate, as he swings on the gibbet of popular odium, in the murky atmosphere of rumor, be a warning to unwise agitators, who, in a perversion of enthusiasm for the truth, stand ready to sacrifice their own happiness and comfort and prospects and serenity of life for the enlightenment and good of mankind. For every monument society erects to a triumphant warrior, it raises a hundred gibbets for moral heroes.

II.

In this year of our Lord, 1894, we have witnessed a moral boycott which was second in its proportions and in its signifi-

* When I wrote this paper and drew, as I believed, an instructive parallel between the days of 1776 and our own time, I had not read Walt Whitman's note on "The Tramp and Strike Questions" in the *Collect* of his complete works. As the article is going through the press I am informed by a friend at my elbow that Walt Whitman anticipated in some sort my view of the real undercurrent that precipitated the Revolution. Upon looking up the *Prose Volume* of the *Complete Works* (David McKay, Philadelphia, 1892) I find Whitman says:—

"The American Revolution of 1776 was simply a great strike, successful for its immediate object; but whether a real success, judged by the scale of the centuries, and the long-striking balance of Time, yet remains to be settled. The French Revolution was absolutely a strike, and a very terrible and relentless one, against ages of bad pay, unjust division of wealth products, and the hoggyish monopoly of a few, rolling in superfluity, against the vast bulk of the work people, living in squalor. If the United States, like the countries of the Old World, are also to grow vast crops of poor, desperate, dissatisfied, nomadic, miserably-waged populations, such as we see looming upon us of late years—steadily, even if slowly, eating into them like a cancer of lungs or stomach—then our republican experiment, notwithstanding all its surface successes, is at heart an unhealthy failure."

cance only to that illegal conspiracy of morality at which we have just glanced. It has ended, so far as its immediate object was concerned, in rout and defeat. But it has taught two valuable lessons which may one day be learned with befitting thoroughness by the vast mass of us—the laboring, debt-born, wage-mortgaged classes. One is that, though this world is distinctly a disagreeable place on account of the crowd, we need really not devour each other, if we will but consent to allow our minds to get out of our stomachs. There is still some force in a moral crusade in the world; and once labor will sink petty jealousies in solidarity, it has won the day. The very hint of such solidarity has made plutocracy arrogant with fear; and arrogance is the white feather of the bully and coward. Again we have seen this vile importation into the conflict by despicable, unrespectable people of the question of *moral right*. The law, thank God, was vindicated with bloodshed, and is now being further appeased with fantastic trials for treason and conspiracy; but it is nevertheless really hazardous at this stage of the game to say whether even this defeat may not be a wicked collusion of Providence against “respectable” virtue—a needed lesson in the methods to be used for some future great victory.

I intend to review the moral and legal aspects of this conflict; and the fact that the industrial army is at this moment routed, despondent, punished, defeated once again, does not make my consideration of the history of these few weeks at all belated, for this conflict was but a mere skirmish. The bayonets and repeating rifles, the “gatling gun” injunctions of plutocracy and the howling dervishes of the plutocratic press-gang have obtained *order*; but the moral questions of this conflict will arise again, and will never down until either they are settled or human reason flickers out into night.

The great conflict of our time is not yet at hand. We are not ripe for it. It takes long for the masses, in pawn to their stomachs and their passions, to learn that the same hunger which is their taskmaster can be the terror of their oppressors. But the gospel of hope is spreading. The flash that leaped for a moment out of the black memories, not merely of years, but of ages, in Chicago a few weeks ago, is but a spark off that great human wheel of force which keeps the social world revolving. It is already rumbling round again in its bitter darkness; but it may yet learn the reason why its ceaseless activity only grinds itself lower and lower in the mire of physical and moral misery, while others ride the wheel and see God’s sun and laugh!

I have referred to the famous boycott and agitation of 1773–1776 because the parallel between these two agitations in their inception will be immediately remarked by the candid reader

when I put before him the analogy of the most salient circumstances.

That iniquitous boycott and uprising of 1773 was a claim that the producers of wealth in this country should be permitted to enjoy the fruits of their labor without being compelled to deduct tithes from them to support a government and revenue in another country, and without any voice in the consideration of the fixing of these taxes. The government held that these people worked and got wealth from the soil and the forest to be despoiled. The damnable iniquity of the agitation against this legal view of their existence and energies is evident when it is announced that the law allowed these "irresponsible" and would-be dictators no right to protest. They were criminals when they claimed *moral rights*; and in this view all the solemnity of the apostolic succession of the Established Church concurred. The law defined their moral rights to the government, and that should have been sufficient. The Church in the name of its lowly Anarchist execrated and banned them.

The position of those riotous demagogues of 1773 was, in fact, reducible to an altogether preposterous *claim*—a mere untangible, untenable *claim*; they had nothing more than that to stand upon. This claim under the existing government was notoriously *unconstitutional*, for the principle of manhood suffrage was then an unheard-of thing in His Majesty's Parliament at Westminster. Great legislative geniuses then bought their seats in the House of Commons and secured such legislation as was good for the gentry. It was the bounden duty of all good loyal subjects to support the British government, and ask no questions. That was what God sent them into the world for. They were a divine dispensation to the lawyers and law makers and good livers. To admit low-born Colonial nondescripts as representatives to Parliament to arbitrate and define the duties of the people to the state and the duties of the state to the people, was obviously preposterous. George the Third got out an "omnibus injunction."

As to *claims*, the rabble had no claims! It was presumption for demagogues to talk of claims. They had no right whatever under the existing laws and statutory enactments of the government, under which they lived, to make any claim for representation in the government or to dare to cause commotion about morality; and the principle which is held *to-day* was held *then*, that the law was a divine, unimpugnable institution which must not be questioned, but merely implicitly obeyed, moral or immoral. Order at any cost; the law before all absurd claims of "reason."

In the strike of 1894, for the moral rights of labor, the men claim that in the consideration of the distribution of their joint

product, they shall be consulted. This is what the strike really means in terms of economy. They claim this upon the obvious teaching of the moral law, deduced from the implacable law of Nature, that every man who would live must produce the means of life. They demand that as producers of wealth they shall possess some degree of rational control over the distribution of that wealth, or, under the existing social system, shall at least be recognized as rational factors to be considered in its proportionate distribution.

This is the iniquitous and preposterous claim of the laboring classes in this conflict between capital and labor. It impugns the divinity of those assumptions of orthodox political economy which have perverted the whole spirit of jurisprudence and legislation. It asks for the examination of these assumptions. It asks if these assumptions are based upon the unescapable laws of Nature, and if not, why not? It demands that the law of the land shall not be perverted from its intention of a truce between all possible conflicting individual rights into the championing of certain conspiracies of thieves and debauchers of the public weal. It asks now for the preservation under the law of individual rights, won and guaranteed to posterity by the agitations of the great political miscreants of our race. This may be the prelude to a demand for the sweeping of rogues out of high places and the reinstatement of the principles of democracy in the law. It asks for common sense and arbitration, if any interference by the state is proposed at all, as the recognition of its moral right to be met on terms of equality by *mere* capitalists; and it demands most emphatically that the state shall not join the capitalists in any denial of any right which may be conceded by the application of moral force. Any such conjunction of the government and the capitalists is conspiracy against the common weal. If it ever gets wisdom, labor will be firmer in its demands and less apologetic. It will win the world for humanity before it allows *trade* to be considered. The social and political progress of the race is more than the sanctity of even stock exchange gambling.

There is this slight difference, too, between the position of these men and the position of the men of '73. Under this government, at the end of the nineteenth century, these men have a legal, statutory right under the constitution, as well as a moral right, to ask such "impertinent" questions. They are "free" men before the law, with equal rights—and equal rights to the protection of the law; and as corporations have acquired somehow an unquestioned power to act as though they owned a president and attorney general, a judiciary and a senate, the people have a legal right to call upon the government to at least *leave them alone* in a propaganda of quit work and starve. This right

has been denied, however. It has been declared "treason" and "conspiracy" for labor leaders to ask labor unions to meet and vote whether they will quit work or not. I want to know under what statutory provision or judicial decision such attempts to influence men's minds can be found to be illegal.

The law, too, is asserted, by nearly all the greatest philosophic writers upon law, to be fundamentally based upon the instincts and intuitions of Nature's laws common to all men, and the common morality of individual rights which has been deduced therefrom.* Therefore these men have a moral right to question the *law itself*, when it is suspected or known that it has been diverted from its original purpose as the arbitrament of interests and rights, and become the engine of a clique of social brigands who have corrupted those administrators who are supposed to derive all their powers from the investiture of the rights of the whole people. This has indubitably been done by the corporations of this country. The money power is openly, audaciously and arrogantly *the government*. The players we see at Washington are its creatures.

The unconstitutionality of the officers of the government assuming extraneous authority outside of that vested in the government and limited by society, assuming extrinsic powers and invading states, is at once apparent, after this consideration of the claims of every individual member of society upon the government. President Cleveland, by forcing troops into states without any demand from and against the will of the governors of the states, violated the spirit if not the letter of the constitution. He out-Hamiltoned Hamilton. If this aggressive federal power had

* The law, as described by Lord Mansfield, is nothing else than reason modified by custom and authority. The Roman law was divided into the civil or peculiar state law and the common or natural law, *ius naturale*, the law which natural reason established among all men and which is observed by all peoples. Aristotle made the same distinction, basing the common law on the dictates of Nature. The distinction corresponds to the distinction made in modern American and English law between the principles and rules of law. In every system the natural law constitutes the principal part, although in recent years the tendency in America has been to limit and pinch the domain of rights under the common law by giving undue weight to the positive historical theories of law, which are inelastic and unscientific, stationary instead of progressive. Nature and logic are, however, the life of the law. The development of law, and therefore of political and social and moral progress, consists in the eradication from the law of its purely historical element and the substitution of rational principles; and to prevent our logic starting from false premises we must keep close to Nature. The right to protest in equity against galling and unjust laws is the fundamental right of free citizens, and the very source of free institutions. The more natural law is embodied in the Law the more scientific and equitable the latter must necessarily become. As a matter of fact, the conception of law practically dominant to-day, and obviously shaping social events in this republic, is derived from the positive and arbitrary definitions of Blackstone, Austin and others of the historical school, who omitted the predominant element of natural law and stated that the law is a mere expression of the will of the state, or consists altogether of laws or statutes. But this is contrary to common observation of the common and general consciousness of right and wrong. It is contrary to the conception of natural liberty, partially conceded by Blackstone, expanded by Hobbes and other writers, and scientifically declared and analyzed by Herbert Spencer. It is entirely unscientific, for it does not respond to the expanding needs of a civilized society. For a clear and popular exposition of the whole subject of natural rights and law, the reader should turn to George A. Smith's "The Law of Private Right," to which the present writer is cheerfully indebted.

been inserted in the constitution and maintained, there would probably be no United States to-day but only a loose confederation. Home rule is the essential nature and principle of this union of states.

In 1773 the people were conceived to exist for the government. In 1894 the government is, I believe, generally conceived to exist for the people. This is, however, a demonstrable error, as far as practice goes. The old system deprived the masses of individual rights; although, as Hume points out, every government, autocratic, military, despotic or democratic, exists only upon *opinion*. Let opinion change, even if it be but a craven acquiescence, and the most brutal despotism is dissipated like a bad dream. The theory of the present system deprives the government, as much as it is humanly possible, of power to override the mass of *individual rights*. The practice, as we know, is different. It is natural there should be some measure of error and perversion in all attempts at self-government; but at present we are complacently witnessing the establishment of precedents that threaten to swamp the theory completely.

The law is supposed to be based upon these individual rights, limited in individual conduct only for the good of society as a whole, with a due admixture of scientific necessity, derived from philosophy and experience, and some historic custom. The conceptions of the historical and the philosophical jurists are more or less reconciled in the received body of law of a constitutionally governed society, but the historic and positive school has ousted the philosophic school in practice. But nevertheless the historical school has its limitations, especially in the domain of initiation, and the fact that President Cleveland and his henchmen dare to invade states with military powers and arrest men for *opinions*, as though the government in this country were an autocratic power invested by some other force than the aggregate of the people's rights and opinions, shows that the whole purpose of this democratic government has been wantonly perverted. He has outraged the conceptions of the State, both of the philosophical and historical jurists, for he has impugned the rights of states as well as individuals, and rushed blindly into an interpretation of the functions of his office without any precedent.

There is another point of resemblance between the position of the men of 1773 and those of 1894. Those detestable varlets of '73 conceived the moral rights of human beings to be superior to the holy fiats about British tea. And the men of 1894 conceive the moral right of every wealth producer in the community to be superior to that accumulated superfluity of wealth which they have produced, but which has enriched the few, who, as capitalists, have purchased legislation and the courts for the oppression of their creators.

Economics should be the science of the distribution of wealth among the wealth producers. It has become the science of robbing the wealth producers of their wealth. A bastard "science" of economics has poisoned and perverted the conceptions of law, upon which the stability of a democratic form of government must depend; and there is to-day no question in the mind of any man who is awake but that in any conflict between corporate capital and labor, the millionaires who have paid political and judicial ambition liberally for services will be as faithfully served as during the month of June, 1894.

The government is always ready with omnibus injunctions and gatling guns to sweep away any ridiculous democratic and moral protests against the programme of corporate capital. Our President and Attorney General may be great judicial characters, and so may be the corporation attorneys and railroad lawyers who are constantly aspiring to the judiciary; but they are either irreclaimably venal or criminally vain and imbecile, for this democracy has been allowed to pass into the hands of that conscienceless plutocratic power which will surely wreck it, as a similar power wrecked Rome, unless the moral forces of this country, if there are any left, awake and sweep such insensate conspiracies of greed into the limbo of oblivion.

To-day is merely the day of *precedents*; we have time to rouse ourselves and act, and if it is possible, as pray God it may be, to avert a settling of accounts in blood.

III.

I originally cast this review in the form of a letter to one of our great daily newspapers. But all the great dailies were so irrevocably committed to the cause of high moral thinking, that my little jests were severely disapproved of as too flippant for the occasion, and my paper was rejected. I have now expanded it into a review of the rights and principles involved in the strike, and the fantastic recognition which has been accorded them by the picturesque freebooters who have usurped the functions of the federal jurisdiction in this democracy. I hope the flippancy of my style will not debar the average reader from carefully weighing the grave considerations involved in this particular phase of a gigantic question — the social question — for Europe as well as America, of the twentieth century.

We are making history very fast in America to-day, and we have a President and an Attorney General who are most industriously establishing precedents, which will doubtless prove exceedingly valuable to the plutocratic inquisition which our miserable posterity will probably enjoy in the next century. But, of course, as good and loyal democrats, we owe nothing to posterity.

One of the things which impressed me most as I followed the reports of the progress of the Chicago strike, from day to day, and talked about it in different circles, was the appalling lack of comprehension of the facts and the issues involved in the case, in the minds of all classes — I might say particularly among the so-called educated and professional classes. Of course this was in a measure due to the condescending propaganda of ignorance so industriously preached by the newspapers from day to day, and to the unscrupulous fashion in which they sought to array the laborers against their own class by the cheap cry of "patriotism" and the most fantastic lies and most currish and cowardly misrepresentation.

To make no vague statements, let me review in their order the main events of the strike, now a matter of history, since its inception in the town of Pullman to the arrest of the labor leaders on a charge of "conspiracy." In the course of our review we will notice certain of the most wanton and disgusting lying misrepresentations made by the capitalistic press of the country, and also try to separate from the piled up distracting mass of reports of infractions by violence and arson of certain permanent statutory provisions (state civil and criminal laws) the *real social principles* involved in this struggle between organized capital and organized labor. The newspapers have emphasized the destruction of property by idle and desperate men, many of them not labor union men or strikers at all, and slurred over the principles involved in this struggle. I shall reverse this programme. There is nothing at all gratuitous or superfluous in this proceeding. The newspaper reports and editorial comments (with one or two notable and honorable exceptions), the injunctions of the federal courts and the proclamations of President Cleveland, all show that those who understand the essential principles of a modern democratic government, which make well marked distinctions between the offices of the state and federal governments, and limit the powers of every executive to hedge about the liberties of the individual subject, are not so many as one might suppose from the continual patriotic screaming about the intoxicating benefits of democracy; which indeed seems to have led many to believe that there is absolutely no necessity for the operation of cosmic law and social evolution to continue in the United States.

Allow me to begin at the beginning. A certain individual, George M. Pullman, who is president of a great car manufacturing corporation at Pullman, in or near Chicago, cuts down the wages of his employees. The wages have been falling for some time, and this new cut is evidently felt by the men to be especially grievous. There are other aggravating circumstances in the case. The employer of the men is also their landlord and their creditor

for gas, water, etc. — all the necessities of life. The rents and gas and water rates are higher than those of the adjacent municipality of Chicago, and a declining scale of wages makes the premiums on gas, etc., burdensome. It is notable that this town of Pullman is a town of tenants and not freeholders.

A committee of the employees waited upon Pullman and asked that the reduction in wages be not carried into effect. The president of the company, in refusing to comply, said that the company could not pay more since it was not making a profit on the manufacture of its cars. So far, so good. I may have my doubts whether in that case the company could not have found it feasible to reduce its charges for rent, etc., in consonance with the general decline of incomes, but such questions do not enter into this consideration, and I have no comment to make upon the attitude of the Pullman company in this matter, since Pullman but takes advantage of the possibilities of usury in wage paying which is the glory of our existing system of industrial economics.

If we extended the compass of this review we might discuss the *absolute justice* or even the relative justice of that immense reserve fund and those large dividends just paid, created out of the labor of the *whole Pullman community* in previous years of undenied prosperity, remaining wholly in the hands of Pullman and his associates and directors; but there are many generations of misery between us and ethical economics, and so we will not leave the bare historical record.

The men who served on the committee representing their fellow employees were then individually dismissed from the service of the Pullman Company, an intimation that the employees were not to look for relief through organization, and that a natural desire on the part of the men to be recognized as factors in the prosperity, the fortunes and prospects of the community was deemed an unpardonable impertinence. This attitude, as a matter of fact, is in contradiction to the theories of the only economists of to-day who demand any sober consideration. They are not very ethical, but they are being cowed into a more scientific attitude. But we will pass on.

Then the whole body of employees struck. Up to this point we must be content with a bare historical skeleton. Pullman, under our competitive social system, had a right to offer his workmen any wages he chose. According to the theory of individual-social rights, deduced and intuitive among all peoples from the physical law of Nature, upon which, though beginning in a maze of assumptions, our system of economics pretends to maintain some balance between capital and labor, and upon which our system of government is supposedly based, or is claimed to be in some sort of human relation to, Pullman is in-

vested with no such *right*; he is only invested with the artificial *power* created by an invasion of individual rights. The *right* of law is permanently more inherent in human society than *law*. However, we will keep to the reasoning strictly used in the practical working of our system. He could not buy men in an open slave market, but he could *own* them by controlling their wages, rent, prices, etc.; and yet even this view conflicts with the theories of the individualistic competitive economic writers. According to their theories of industrialism Pullman had no such absolute right, because it spoils the operation of their theory of the free flux of labor, and because our orthodox economists have been forced by the accumulation of scientific *data*, creating new ideas of moral obligations, confirming and based upon physical needs, to surrender some of their most fiendish doctrines and to hedge on utilitarian grounds, although they stubbornly refuse to recognize the moral element in all human relationships. They deny any relation to morality, and then appeal to men's honor to recognize debts and contracts — an amazingly paradoxical position.

However, as I have said, I wish to deal simply with the *practical* and legal side of this question. I would not incur even the danger of being charged with the "sentimentalism" that could be preferred against the individualist economic writers. Pullman could offer to pay his men one dollar a year, and charge interest on unpaid rent, food, water, etc., and be within his legal right. That is the scope of individual contract recognized by formal law. That is the competitive social system. It gives a man who has acquired enough *capital* the right to obtain a vested interest in men's labor and bodies. It is to be noted, too, that he could not gain this power in any state where of all rights *in rem* that of self-possession or ownership of property in self was not the most fundamental right of property. A man cannot *sell* himself, though many nowadays would be glad to do so, but he can *mortgage* himself and pay heavy interest for mere existence. Do not let us be so childish as to expect that men will not exercise the privilege of owning men without responsibility so long as they are protected by our sacred laws and by highly civilized social opinion.

If the majority of us find such laws are crushing us into a nightmare worse than serfdom and making life a curse and a burden, let us unite to sweep away the system by enacting new laws, if we can find men who will not sell us out to the money power before their legislative chairs are thoroughly warm. I doubt if that is possible. Let us also devise means to guard against the encroachments of a corrupt judiciary, more to be feared, because less fearful, than corrupt legislators. Laws are made by men for men, and not men for laws. Indeed, as we

have seen, laws arise out of the moral conceptions common to all men. They are therefore a convenience, a compromise of reason, and in no sense supra-social or divine, as the average law-abiding American seems to think. If we are content with the pawn system of social and economic peace, let us not say one word against the men who avail themselves of its worse than cannibalistic privileges. If we are not content, let us attack only the system, using the baser sort of men and their methods merely as abstract illustrations. In a world of contemptible rascals it is surely invidious to single out any one particular man, who may be a knave unwittingly, for mere distraction.

Society grants such men as Pullman immense privileges. But there is one condition which President Cleveland and his crew have overlooked; that is, society at large can abrogate or limit these privileges when their use or abuse threatens the peace and comfort and security and stability of society. It is the duty of governments, as the expression of the aggregate will for the aggregate protection and peace and precaution of the people, to be ready to consider impartially any disturbance or individual sway of power that threatens the social equilibrium of the whole mass.

Up to this point, Pullman is quite justified, legally, in starving his employees, if he considered it to their moral benefit and the glory of God, because his position was upheld by social opinion as well as by the law. This law is, however, a perversion of the natural and moral law which should inhere in it. When, therefore, social opinion changes, as it may when Nature's laws pinch men's morals long enough, it is time for a reconsideration and examination of the law. The laws cannot be safely unchangeable formulas, extrinsic to the physical needs of society. That is, however, the historic and ruling idea. It is an idea which is scientifically untenable, although it is certainly widespread among the legal classes of this democracy.

The employees in striking, in accepting the risk of starvation and more poignant misery than they enjoyed under philanthropic guardianship, were also within their rights. They withdrew the only *capital* they possessed in the hope that their claims would in consequence be reconsidered. They were not so reconsidered. It was then a question whether the men could starve as long as Pullman could lose money. I do not know the pangs of declining interest, but I venture the opinion that they are outweighed by those of hunger. These workmen, however, have a vested interest through their work in the town of Pullman, an interest to be estimated by the duration of their term of service.

Moreover, Nature, after a certain siege of misery, has certain inalienable rights which she presses regardless of historic or

merely logical social laws or society. These can only be assuaged by a square meal — or death. Nature's is the sterner logic, and hers are the prior claims. Every man, after Nature has taken the trouble to create him, has a right to life ; and that right does not depend upon the will of any man, or society. Society can forfeit life, but it has never yet demonstrated its inalienable right to do so. A man derives his right to life prior to his entry into society — at the very moment of his conception. That right includes a right to the possession of his body, his mind and his faculties. It is here that society, which may suffer from this menace of Nature, must reassert its latent and dominant, its supreme claims, derived from the same Nature, the law of self preservation, over the acts of both corporations, like the Pullman Company, and their employees. This physical tyranny of Nature is the basis of all government ; it cannot be disregarded by any government ; it is the social attraction and the social equilibrium.

Thus we see that even when we leave ethics in the background — since they are poor draggle-tailed considerations which we are all either ashamed of or afraid of acknowledging for fear of incurring the contempt of the good practical opinion of our *Christian* society — we must recognize and consider the immutable and merciless physical laws, and these at once establish the superior and predominant claims of society upon the utilitarian and legal basis, that they are the practical equivalent of the individual surrender, for individual and mutual convenience, of certain individual rights of self-protection. No government is anything more than the explicit or implicit surrender of these individual rights of self-protection and preservation. They are only inherent in the State as an aggregate investment of all the individuals in a community, and not as a power unaccountable to the mass of individuals composing the governed.*

In other words, in surrendering certain of their rights to a social convention called the State, for mutual protection, men do not, or rather cannot, surrender their natural rights and necessities or abolish by statute the inexorable laws of Nature herself,

* In case this may be considered in this democracy of ideas a wicked and subversive original view, it having already been condemned by the prevailing views of the press throughout the progress of the Chicago strike, let me disavow any independent rationalization in this particular. It is the wickedly subversive idea of many of the greatest legal authorities who never enjoyed the broadening benefits of this democracy and its journalistic and judicial wisdom.

"It is evident that men form a political society, and submit to laws solely for their own advantage and safety. The sovereign authority is then established only for the common good of all the citizens." — Vattel.

"Laws bind us for no other cause than they are received by the judgment of the people. Laws are abrogated not only by the vote of the legislature but also with the tacit consent of all by desuetude." — Blackstone.

"There is always a reason against every coercive law — a reason which, in default of any opposing reason, will always be sufficient in itself ; and that reason is that such a law is an attack upon liberty." — Bentham.

"It is on opinion only that government is founded." — Hume.

Mr. Cleveland and his Attorney General believe, as Hobbes believed, that the function of government is to create "a mortal God on earth" ; but this is opposed to the modern as well as the ancient conceptions of the legislative and judicial functions.

upon which all laws not essentially fictitious and temporary must be based. As the greatest jurists admit, custom may become law, but no law can be established till it become custom. Contrary to the spirit of the judiciary in this day in this country, the law embodies a significance of rights; and, of course, in a democracy, of unalterably equal rights. When the judiciary proclaims an *ex parte* interpretation of legality instead of the common rights in any case, liberty is dead. The greatest philosophic writers on law concur in affirming the origin of the law in its widest sense to be custom and the instincts common to all men arising out of the inflexible laws of Nature, so that this is not only a perfectly legal convention, but is scientifically accurate also; and science and the law, since the latter cut adrift from Nature to build on Austin's logic, are conspicuously seldom in harmony nowadays—though their real relationship can never be permanently destroyed so long as law and Nature persist. And the latter shows no sign of being exorcised by law. Here is Coke saying: "The principles of natural right are perfect and immutable, but the condition of human law is ever changing, and there is nothing in it which can stand forever."

After centuries of servitude, the masses of laboring men have discovered that as nations and societies and corporations act as an individual to protect and further a vast multitude of individual interests, so they also must act corporately as an individual instead of as individuals if they wish to obtain any consideration at the hands of corporate capital, or of social or political bodies, under our present economic and political system. Labor did not originate this idea. It has been the practice of nations from the dawn of history; and the tie of empty bellies is obviously as potent as that created by a geographical expression. In commercial society it has simply adapted to its own needs the system of ancient guilds which existed in European countries for centuries and still exists in England. Some claim that these leagues for mutual protection originated in the building of Solomon's temple. This is the Freemason idea. As I am not a Freemason I do not wish to assert any definite point in antiquity. But these guilds doubtless were copied from the more remote tribal and military affiliations of defence, and so trades-unionism and labor organizations are as legitimate as any other social institution, and in one analogous form or another, as ancient as the earliest diversified forms of commercialized society.

Even if that did not dispose of certain outrageously impudent statements and other more discreet and malicious innuendoes made by the railroad magnates and the newspapers, and embodied in the injunctions of the federal courts under the instructions of the Attorney General and the President of the United States, to the

effect that organizations of labor were conspiracies and *illegal*, we need not go behind the Declaration of Independence and the constitution of the United States. There is not a clause in any statute of this country which can even legally, much less morally, restrain laborers from combining to obtain by the exercise of persuasion or moral force the highest price possible for their labor, or to stop working in any and every employment whenever and wherever they choose, individually or by mutual agreement, or from persuading, by promises or arguments, others to quit any and every employment. There is nothing more to restrain them from combining for the social purposes of raising their wages, etc., than to restrain them from combining for political purposes, so long as they propose to use only constitutional means for carrying out their ideas. If there were any such constitutional provision, any organized opposition to government would be an illegal and treasonable conspiracy.

There are, of course, and must necessarily be, laws for the protection of society against violence and destruction of life or *things* by any person or persons. I make this distinction of life and things, instead of the usual distinction of life and property, because, although our marvellously wise Attorney General and judiciary do not realize the fact, and many millions share their ignorance, *life* is the most essential of all *property*. This is the fundamental principle of the philosophy of rights. It is grievously unknown in this democracy, and in the late disturbance in Chicago the government showed an utter disregard for that property which consisted of the lives of the citizens. Let the law take its course when violated by any person or persons, including the judiciary; but no presidential nor judicial nor journalistic sophistry can rehabilitate or make even *legal*, much less permanently possible and reconcilable with the law of rights, the old English feudal prohibition (finally and forever abrogated in 1824), which denied the right of workmen to combine for mutual protection and benefit—or, if my Tory and ecclesiastical friends prefer it, for mutual moral destruction, wanton social retrogression and eternal damnation. To strain legality to this point is to make the law an invasion of society—anarchy, and that must be crushed at all costs. It is the right of workmen to combine and persuade, and so long as they wreck their temporal and eternal hopes peacefully, we cannot interfere, whether it inconveniences us or not. Similar withdrawals of wheat or gold from the market for speculative purposes inconvenience society, but no man is legally bound to sell his wheat or loan his gold.

It is too late in the day, really, for newspapers to treat organized labor in the spirit of feudalism. Our newspapers howl enough about progress and *fin de siècle*-ism, and they are truly

dirty and vulgar enough to support every claim to modernity but that of sharing in the advance of scientific, economic and political thinking which has taken place since the eighteenth century. In this particular they are sorely belated, and the most pernicious agencies of evil and ignorance.

As far as the strike in the town of Pullman was concerned, there was nothing of an extraordinary nature in its progress to make it of more than the ephemeral interest which attaches to such local and futile attempts of wage-earners to better their condition. And up to this point the press took very little notice of the strike, beyond deploring the fact that such a good man as Mr. Pullman should be inconvenienced by recalcitrant workmen.

When the strike assumed a more general character, certain facts about the social and domestic conditions existing in the town of Pullman caused some of the leading journals of the country to degenerate into cheap rhodomontade against Pullman as an employer. This, of course, was manifestly beside the question, for in this struggle between capital and labor no such merely factitious element as the goodness or badness of any particular employer should be allowed to enter. This petty treachery toward Mr. Pullman by the plutocratic press was a contemptible exhibition of that small Pecksniffian moral sentiment, which is continually used by the organs of plutocracy to divert their readers from the actual principles involved in any great question by the importation of personal reprobation. Indeed, the most remarkable feature of the whole controversy about this strike has been the disproportion between the examination into the matter of legal rights under the common law and the constitution, and the moral principles of right, the basis of all law, involved in the whole conflict, and the tissue of disgusting slander and scandal which has been unscrupulously disseminated about both Pullman and the labor leaders. The latter, especially, have been attacked as dictators and revolutionaries, while, as everybody at all conversant with the parliamentary procedure of all labor unions knows, they could not make a move unauthorized by their unions, and simply executed the will of the members of these organizations.

The strike assumed a new phase, and the comments in the press a new complexion, the moment it was reported that the American Railway Union and affiliated labor organizations, after trying for six weeks to arrange a compromise or arbitration between Mr. Pullman and his employees, had decided to strike to support their fellow laborers in their contest with the Pullman Company. Up to this point the legality of the strike was not questioned by any newspaper in the country. The wisdom of the strike was questioned, and must be questioned, by all impartial observers of

our social phenomena. It was doomed, as every such isolated strike is doomed, to failure from the very beginning, because, under our competitive system, in which competition by combinations of capital is limited to workmen competing for work, in either good times or bad times the workmen can never get enough returns for their work to enable them to enjoy what our orthodox political economists call, with a sort of grim humor, "the reward of abstinence," and can never lay by sufficient in the savings banks to be many weeks away from the point of starvation if idle.

It is perfectly futile and absurd for any special body of workmen or any one labor union to strike against the terms offered in any special employment, for Nature betrays her poor pawns through their necessities into the hands of their oppressors. The capitalist class, as every intelligent labor leader must have learned by this time, is not at all disturbed by such isolated strikes; and as long as the labor unions confine their action to such isolated strikes we shall see little in the press about "conspiracy" or "treason." The legality of such strikes will not be questioned, because they are a foolish waste of strength of the laboring party and quite as ridiculous as a protest against the power of corporate capital and monopoly as would be the protest of an individual workman.

The conspiracy of the railroads in California should be a good object lesson to working men as to how certain common interests can be best served. But such combinations as the California railroad conspiracy are distinctly illegal under the interstate commerce laws as a positive restraint of trade, because they not only fix a schedule of prices of transportation, but also defeat competition by reprisals on any merchants or producers who dare to seek relief in using other carriers — steam or sail boats for instance. The coöperation of labor unions, on the contrary, is not and cannot be made illegal under any statute of the United States. It is not in any sense a restraint of trade; it is simply a moral union, to sustain wages, the minimum at which men will permit control of their labor and faculties. This does not limit or arbitrarily fix the price of any commodity, for labor is not a commodity, but a productive force — a natural force.

It is the right of every citizen of a free government to work or be idle as he chooses, and of course this implies the right to make or combine to make the terms and conditions upon which he will work. Workmen cannot under any circumstances force railroad or other companies to accept their services at the figure they fix, except through such a withdrawal of labor by moral suasion as will empty the labor market and make concessions from capital advisable for its own interests. This is a conflict of interests. The government has acted as though the railroads alone had rights.

Workmen can certainly refuse as a body of men, to work, and may vote to quit work to sustain other workmen who desire not to work, on certain conditions, and this action can in no sense whatever be declared to be illegal, even if it interferes with the power of companies to fulfil contracts made with the government. If the railroads do not desire the services of these men upon their terms, they can refrain, of course, from employing them, and it then remains for them to consider their contracts and resources.

This course simply establishes the moral relation of the laboring classes to society as a whole. It is in no sense whatever a conspiracy against society or against individuals composing corporations of capital, for it must be conceded under the constitution of the United States and under the principles of the English common law, from which we have derived our free institutions, that every citizen in the community has the right of self ownership, and if he can employ himself to better advantage than he can derive from a contract with another man, he is under no compulsion to work for another or for the State itself; and the sequence of this right is the right to join any organization whose propaganda is to quit work, if he does not care to work upon the terms offered by men in the market, or for any or no cause which does not render him liable to a civil process for breach of a formal contract. Even then the only redress lies in a suit, as contract has its limitations, in which an award of damages may be a relief to the defendant. This is an important point upon which, absurdly enough, doubt has arisen. Neither the law nor society can enjoin a man from throwing up his employment, and persuading others to do likewise, whether such action inconveniences society or interferes with contracts between the government and certain railroad corporations or not.

In case the withdrawal of the men prevents the railroads from carrying the mails according to contract, then the government has a purely civil case for breach of contract against the railroads, and the latter must find new agencies for the fulfilment of their contracts with the government. There is no question of criminal process or conspiracy in this. If, however, any men or body of men harass the railroad companies by the destruction of their property and the invasion of their premises, then the railroad companies have the right to invoke the protection of the state to aid them in carrying out their obligations, and if this is not sufficient, the state can invoke the assistance of the federal government. If, too, the mail cars are immediately attacked, robbed or threatened with violence, the corporations, in the capacity of citizens invested with a national charge, can put the matter before the postal authorities. But this limits the fed-

eral government's action to a proclamation that the mails must not be tampered with, and, if tampered with, to their protection. But the question of violence does not affect the principle of the *rights* of either of the parties in the conflict, and the federal judiciary cannot constitutionally or legally under any interpretation of law, magnify the rights of one side, and make the state the property of a corporation or combination of corporations, instead of an equitable definer and maintainer of the rights of both parties to the contest. The burning of cars in Chicago does not change the principles of a democratic government or suddenly invest it with functions which have never received the formal sanction of its citizens.

For the state to declare, as it did in the injunction issued in the United States Court in Chicago, under instructions received from Attorney General Olney, that it was conspiracy to induce men *by persuasion* to quit the employment of the railroad companies, was tantamount to a declaration that labor unions are illegal, for their very existence and aims depend upon the right to exert influence by moral suasion. They can exist upon no other basis, and whether their critics think them detrimental or damnable matters not; their right to exist is as unimpugnable as the right of a limited joint stock company for the purposes of trade. Such an injunction as that impinges the fundamental right of *property in self*. And, logically enough, it also declares that any organization that may interfere with or inconvenience *corporations*, which from their nature can enjoy only the right of property *in rem*, and not of property in self, by imposing conditions or raising the price *per capita* for the voluntary services of laborers, by creating a social instead of an individual opinion, for individual and mutual advantage, are conspiracies.

This puts the law of the rights of contract upside down, for its essence is voluntariness on the basis of advantage to both parties concerned. No sane person has contested the right of capital to refuse to employ men at all, if the whole laboring class should refuse to accept their conditions. We never hear of the governmental power being invoked to compel corporations of any sort to continue production and distribution if they do not see any personal advantage in so doing, even though millions may perish of cold and hunger in consequence. The law cannot guarantee freedom of contract to capitalists and deny it to laborers, for before the law there are no class distinctions. This is the distinction this injunction *creates* as a principle of our law. Of course, in refuting the possibility of such an importation into the principles of law, I am writing philosophically; I am perfectly aware of what the practice is under the existing system of defeating popular government by corruption of the judiciary by the appointment of beneficiaries of corporate capital.

This injunction, which was designated by one of the judges concerned, "a Gatling gun on paper," would have been more or less unobjectionable if the framers had been a little more canny in concealing the purposes of plutocracy, and with a more decent jesuitry confined its scope to the condemnation and prevention of violence and arson. Unfortunately it has invaded the fundamental principle of a free government, personal liberty or *self ownership*, with its implied and corollary rights, the basis of all political rights and the franchise itself, of coöperation by opinion and the securing of a social, coöperative opinion by moral suasion.

An extension of the office (not the principle — that could not be extended; it has touched despotism), of this same "Gatling gun injunction" would declare a Republican caucus in secret session assembled, a conspiracy against the established order of the Democracy, for the objects of such an association of men are so to use moral suasion as to induce a great body of men to act in concert for the attainment of certain social conditions, through certain specific modifications of existing law, which in its ramifications affects every portion of society, and for a time must certainly promote industrial and business uncertainty and disturbance. We all know what industrial disaster and desolation the mere threat of a Democratic administration in 1892 promoted, and yet only a few enthusiasts would advocate locking up the Democratic majority in jail for conspiracy. And this temperance, even though this one administration has certainly rivalled any of its predecessors in its genius for conspiracy — as witness the sugar-bought Senate, a tariff reform bill made in the interests of the trusts, and other picturesque revelations that will make our President, in his attempts to combine "practical politics" with the character of a great historic personage, a source of irreverent mirth to that posterity, whose judgment he would anticipate while jingling contemporary gold dollars in his pockets. If he does succeed in his historic ambition he will have better luck than most moral heroes in advance of partisan thought, for their heroism usually entirely blights their worldly fortunes.

The effect of this drag-net injunction is this, in a few plain words. In any dissension of opinion between capital and labor as to their respective rights, if the laborers decide to quit work and to use moral suasion to persuade others to quit to lend force to the presentation of their claim that they contribute something to production, the state stands behind corporate capital, which has no greater rights, though we must concede more power, to declare such a strike treason against the state. This brings up the question of what is the state, which I have already defined. Then if the government is legally justified in its action, the corporations

are the state nowadays; that is the logical conclusion, for the people obviously cannot declare that men must work when they do not desire to do so.

The attempt to solve every social and political disability the masses have ever labored under has been "treason," but we thought we had heard the last of that imbecile fantasy of feudalism when it was formally acknowledged that the powers of government were derived from the governed. If to insist upon the individual right of the citizen to form social or political associations under a free government is conspiracy and treason, then we must say with Patrick Henry, "If this be treason, make the most of it." The constitution defines treason thus: "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort."

The effect of such an injunction might easily have been calculated by all men acquainted with the slow and painful development of our free institutions of government, and what they have cost our forefathers of the so-called "lower classes" to win for us. It was simply to confirm the cool and intelligent leaders of the labor unions, acting always under the advice of skilful and competent attorneys, to maintain their rights and liberties under the laws of a free government. It is not in human nature to abandon the grievously-won rights of centuries at a threat which may reasonably be questioned as exceeding the authority of the jurisdiction from which it emanated. And another effect which might easily have been foreseen by men of more dispassionate judgment than the Attorney General and President Cleveland, and which was in fact foreseen by every cool-headed, thinking man in the community not blinded by partisan hopes and interests, was the exasperation of those thousands of unfortunates who, after generations of serfdom and ignorance, only feel a burning sense of their wrongs and the terrible grip of the merciless wolf in their stomachs. These know scarcely anything of their established rights, but Nature gives them some conception of outrage.

The unthinking and ignorant, who from generations of tyranny both in the Old World and in this, have inherited a keen perception of their wrongs, but are almost despairing of obtaining even those natural rights already conceded under the existing law, hearing of this strangely potent instrument of paper, which would even put their tongues and minds in chains, felt, and felt rightly, that if the conservative and judicial minds which fortunately were guiding the movement of organized labor were so arrogantly menaced, the day was surely not far off when their rights even to possess their own bodies, or to exist at all, might

be questioned by those moneyed men for whose sole benefit the state seemed to exist. This judicial muzzle was a menace; it was an audacious threat from the state; it was an invasion of every poor man's home in the United States, for it denied the laboring poor the right to use their own minds, and to meet and exchange ideas, to find and make a community of social opinion by the ordinary methods of discussion and persuasion; it denied the right of free thought and free speech. With a jump we got back to the old days of nonjuring, when a man had to whisper his opinions discreetly at his own fireside, and then take care they did not go up the chimney. It was the most dubious instrument which has ever received the seal of any government of English-speaking people since those picturesque documents which were framed by Strafford brought an unfortunate and vain tool, divine rights and all, to the block at Whitehall. A government which undertakes to muzzle men at this end of the nineteenth century is beginning to display such unmistakable signs of weakness and futility as should drive its admirers for very fear into some catholicity of opinion. They will, however, be much more likely to smother it with their propaganda of reaction and prohibition.

I declare right now that that injunction was an invasion of my personal rights, for I desire, as an individual, to go out and meet my fellow-laborers and confer upon our mutual interests, whether I and they shall work or not. Like the Pullman workers, as an individual, I cut no figure in any consideration of the price to be paid for my labor, or the conditions upon which I shall work; I therefore desire to join an Authors' Association, and I maintain my inalienable right in any difficulty I may have with any publishing corporation, paper manufacturing corporation, printing corporation, or a trust of all these combined, to invoke the power of the Association, to which I belong, to see that justice is done me, and that until justice is done me, or arbitration is agreed upon, all relations between the association and this corporation or corporations shall cease.

These manufacturing corporations have a contract with a corporation for the distribution of the products of the Authors' Association, and the distributing company has another contract to supply the government with our amusing works, for reasons best known to an appreciative government. But since the works of all the authors of the association are withdrawn, pending a settlement of the difficulties between the association and the manufacturing corporations, the agency of distribution is unable to continue its business, and enters suit against the manufacturing corporations for not supplying goods according to contract. The government also clamors for our amusing works, and threat-

ens suit against the distributing company. Why, then I am guilty of treason! Are the officers of the Authors' Association guilty of conspiracy? The case is exactly analogous with that against the officers of the American Railroad Union; but I think that the Attorney General would hardly undertake this case. He and his kind do not love literature, even law books, enough to detect conspiracies where the "glory" is so incommensurate with the odium. But if, in such a case, I am not guilty of treason, he is guilty of criminal negligence, for surely the claims of one corporation are as good as those of another; if one company or combination of companies can invoke the power of the government, surely no invidious distinctions will be made.

It seems to be a well established principle of a free government that all vendors of commodities can, without any conspiracy against the government, fix the price of their commodities, either by coöperation or agreement, or individually, so long as there is no restraint upon others making other arrangements. The man with commodities to sell is obviously in a more advantageous position than the laborer who has only his work to sell, although both before the law are vendors, with the right to ask any price or conditions they desire. It has never yet been laid down as a rule or principle of law that any two or twenty men in business should not be allowed to coöperate to sell their commodities at a price which would insure them both the cost and a profit, and there has been no legal limit to profit, as long as no disabilities are imposed upon other producers and distributors. And since "labor" has now become, in the terms of economic theory, a "commodity" — though it can never morally sink to this as long as men retain any manhood — subject to the law of supply and demand, always falling in value at the nod of capital, and never sharing in the increased prices of products, except as consumers, surely to God, the laborer has a right to merely *assert* at what price and upon what conditions he will sell this "commodity"; and if he cannot get his price, surely he has a right to retire altogether from the market without being pursued with this ancient bugaboo of "conspiracy" and "treason."

If it can be legally proved that the author and his fellow wage workers have been guilty of "treason" and conspiracy by some new and sudden creation of "omnibus" court law, utterly alien and foreign to the rules and principles of the law of a free government, then it is certainly time for an agitation to sweep through this country which will make it in fact a democracy instead of a hypocritical despotism. If, however, this is the law, we have yet to proclaim our Declaration of Independence.

It has been pointed out over and over again by some of the most philosophic and greatest minds of Europe — and I suppose

the "American idea" is not so vast up to date as to completely overshadow the wisdom of the greatest men of the Old World — that the chief danger of this country lies in the possible usurpation of power by the federal judiciary, which is by the method of its appointment beyond the power of popular resentment by the ballot. It has become sadly apparent that the judiciary of this democracy has developed fantastically arbitrary conceptions of its functions. It has become ludicrously manifest that corporations, rings and trusts leagued against the interests and prosperity of the people, can not only buy legislation in Congress and in the legislatures, which is within the power of the people to revoke and to resent by discharging and dismissing in disgrace the legislators who allowed themselves to be purchased, but it is showing a subtler and more insidious power. It is showing that it can successfully conspire to seduce the goddess of justice to open one eye — or at least give a squint at the scales.

It was said by one of the grand duchesses of Louis the Fourteenth's court when reproached by a pious abbé on her gambling propensities, and threatened with post-mortem pains and penalties, "Ah, but my dear abbé, the good God would surely think twice before damning a person of my 'quality.'" Plutocracy is beginning to claim the same aristocratic exemption and leniency from the courts high and low in this country. Their "quality" and not the common rights are to be considered.

Something of the old childish superstition of superiority and smug complacency is beginning to disappear, but how many Americans realize, when they lay the flattering unction to their souls that they make all the laws of this democracy, that the most dangerous and subversive laws are not to be looked for in the measures introduced in Congress and Senate in open debate or in the legislatures of the states, but are most to be feared from another quarter. It is possible to import them silently and insidiously into the decrees of the federal judiciary, where they will remain to block and defeat justice and liberty for many generations. The events of the past few weeks have shown, and to many the revelation must have come as a shock, what strange reactionary perversion of the principles of a democracy founded upon free speech and equal rights can be made by the interpolation of a few words into an ordinary judicial writ of restraint. A word or two here and there in judicial decrees and injunctions, and all of liberty is gone; and then to denounce the law, the sacred law of the land, is high treason, and muzzles and ribaldry are in order.

We are getting a foretaste of the realization of President Lincoln's fear. If there are men enough in the republic to speak as fearlessly as he did we may yet retrieve our grievous mistakes.

If there are not, if none dare run the risk of being spattered with mud by the hirelings of the plutocratic press, if all are afraid of that damning and recklessly used term of contempt, "anarchist," we may expect to fatten only in servility — a godless, faithless, trustless horde of whipped time-servers, a race to be swallowed by Time and forgotten. In his message to the second session of the Thirty-seventh Congress, Abraham Lincoln said: —

Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism. It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions, but there is one point with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor, in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital, that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital somehow, by the use of it induces him to labor. . . . Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration. . . . No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost.

It was not to be expected that men of any dignity or self respect, with any manly perception of the relations between the citizen and the state and the reciprocal relations of the state and the citizen under a free government, would tamely relinquish, under the threat of a federal injunction, whose constitutionality was disputed and maybe cannot be established by anything less radical than a new constitution, their rights as citizens to meet and confer with their fellow citizens upon any and every question affecting their mutual interests, legal, social or political. If we have lived to 1894 to see the establishment of czarism or a formally legal judicial police system to administer fiat instead of justice, in the United States, then it was surely a ridiculous waste of blood and treasure to overthrow the benign constabulary government of King George the Third by divine right. It was not for mere tea or mere taxes on tea or stamp duties that the fathers of the Revolution bore the brand of traitors and ran the risk of swinging on the gallows. It was because George III. tried to put their minds in chains! And Attorney General Olney, and the anticipatory "historic personage" at his elbow who concurs in his fantastic complacency in issuing this famous "Gatling gun injunction," declare the right of government to do no more and no less.

After the Norman conquest, all jurisdiction was vested in the

King and his Chancellor, to whom jurisdiction was delegated for convenience. The Chancellor then became the chief adviser to the King in the exercise of his jurisdiction, and the curious custom arose in consequence of calling the Chancellor "the King's conscience." The difference between that time and ours, it must be noticed, is this, — then all jurisdiction was vested in the King and his Chancellor; now the President and his Chancellor are, in theory, but the interpreters of a jurisdiction that derives its potency from the will and consent of the people. But in both cases it is of great moment to the people that this "conscience," so close to the chief executive, should be uncorrupted and incorruptible. The motives of a president, no less than those of a king, may with some accuracy be gauged by the sort of "conscience" he selects for this intimate relation in these great responsibilities. All of Mr. Cleveland's appointments have puzzled honest men; and it is unnecessary to say anything more about the particular "conscience" at his so ingenuous ear than this — it is a *corporation counsel* "conscience"; and all through this conflict between capital and labor it has acted, as any man not so ingenuous as Mr. Cleveland would have anticipated, in the interests of those particular "consciences" with which it has the most realistic and most natural affinity. Consciences of a very similar stripe were to be bought in good King George the First's reign, during the Jacobite days, at half a crown a pair; but they come quite high nowadays. Mr. Cleveland and his "conscience" both have the same itch and cling close. We hope posterity may be kind enough to forget this immitigable "conscience," or we greatly fear the memory of the "historic personage" will stink in about two generations.

The jurisdiction of a government is the right or power vested in the government by the people of declaring the right to administer justice. This may be declared either from the established rules of law which are directly applicable to the case in question, or — and here we must be sure that our judges are not only lawyers, but understand thoroughly the philosophy of law, — reasoned from the principles of law; logical deduction from the fundamental principles of the law, as we have received it in its historical development from the race to which we belong. The function of the federal jurisdiction is most essentially that of a judge or umpire between all parties, and between parties and the state; and justice constitutes the only admissible rule of decision. From all other decisions we maintain the right of free men to dissent, and in dissenting by moral persuasion to agitate against. For, as many of the greatest philosophic writers on law have said in various ways, "No law can create for us a false duty or deprive us of a true natural law."*

* See Victor Cousin.

In giving his order for this "Gatling gun injunction," we maintain that Attorney General Olney was certainly not acting under authority; for he can find no authority under the constitution of the United States, under any statute or under any judicial decree, for an injunction decreeing it contempt of court or conspiracy for any man *to persuade* others to unite in a moral protest, by ceasing to labor, against what they conceive to be the denial of their rights as citizens by other citizens. And if he conceives that he is reasoning from the principles of the law of this democracy, as we have received it from the makers of the liberties of our race, then we are in grievous danger from his evident mental incapacity to comprehend the principles of the law of a democracy, or of any constitutionally governed state. There is a desperate gap in his logic and reasoning, which, once formulated into a legal precedent, even if it only inheres in a judicial decree of restraint, as a mere quibble for every rascally corporation counsel, not so compelled to honesty as Mr. Olney, to lay hold of in future troubles to cheat the masses of their rights, is a precedent that must be most tyrannous to the poor and perhaps perilous to the safety of this form of government.

IV.

Events then crowded thick and fast. The importation of the federal government as a factor in a disagreement as to the terms and conditions of a commercial contract (for that is what a labor contract is, although so-called "men of business" seem to regard their pursuits as peculiar and superior, making them benefactors rather than mere contractors for equivalents) was something formidable. The leaders of the labor movement, though, placed under the peril of contempt of court, could not recede from a position which they had an unquestionable legal and constitutional right to assume. They could not as free men abrogate their right to confer and consult and persuade others to confer and consult respecting their mutual interests as workmen and citizens. But these threats provoked and exasperated the lawless and destitute and ignorant elements of society in Chicago to that blind resentment that defeats its own ends in the destruction of property. Such violence was an infraction of the municipal and state laws and regulations, and the railroad companies should have immediately notified the properly constituted municipal and state authorities and placed the protection of their property in their hands. By not doing so they seemed to indicate that they did not regard themselves as amenable to the state authorities.

This matter of the destruction of property had nothing at all to do with any consideration of the *principles* involved in the struggle between organized labor and corporate capital. And

with the conflict of rights the federal government was not concerned. The destruction of property was entirely and exclusively a matter for the municipal and state authorities to deal with; the offenders against the municipal regulations and state laws should have been met with an adequate force of police and state militia and compelled to desist from their depredations after due warning to quit. All those found engaged in destroying property should have been promptly arrested and summarily dealt with under the laws of the city of Chicago and the state of Illinois.

Instead of appealing to the municipal authorities and the governor of the state for the protection of their property, the railroad companies through their attorneys, who were in constant consultation with the United States district attorney, made a requisition upon the federal government for United States regular troops. The President at once responded, thus recognizing the claims of the railroad companies as superior to the rights and dignity of the state of Illinois.

In his capacity of commander in chief of the army Mr. Cleveland showed that he could play as fantastic tricks before high Heaven as his "conscience." He marched his troops into Illinois and began military operations without consulting the governor of Illinois, and without even making the proclamation demanded by law. He had been in possession two days, although the presence of the federal troops was formally protested against by Governor Altgeld as unnecessary and unwarranted and against the spirit of a democratic government, before he was reminded by the governor of another state, Governor Pennoyer, that he was under the legal necessity of making a proclamation before moving troops into action. Mr. Cleveland's great legal mind had overlooked a constitutional requirement which is familiar to "Macaulay's schoolboy." Mr. Cleveland condescended to act upon the hint, and Chicago was virtually placed under martial law, in defiance of the expressed will of the governor of the state.

It will be remembered that during the administration of a certain conservative president, one George Washington, a disturbance, known as the Whiskey rebellion or Jacobin outbreak, arose in Pennsylvania. The country was somewhat necessarily agitated after a long and exhausting strife with another great nation, but President Washington was a cautious mind, and he did not allow any zeal for some mysterious social applause in the political background to influence his actions. He most conspicuously did not ignore the governor of the state. Two proclamations were issued, and then President Washington made a requisition upon the governor to call out the militia and restore order. A similar requisition was made upon Governor Lee of Virginia and upon the governors of Maryland and New Jersey, and Gen-

eral Lee was made commander in chief. The troops employed were state troops. But it is to be presumed that a whiskey rebellion was to be treated with greater consideration, being a political rather than a social disturbance, than the protests of laboring men against the high and sublime conceptions of the functions of labor held by holy capital.

We have been assured by Attorney General Olney, according to a newspaper interview telegraphed from Washington all over the country, that:—

The paramount duty of the president is to see that the laws of the United States are faithfully executed, and in the discharge of that duty he is not hampered or crippled by the necessity of consulting any chief of police, mayor or even governor. In the present instance nothing has been done and nothing ordered which the most captious critic can condemn as an invasion of state rights. The action of the national executive has been exclusively directed to the enforcement of the United States laws, the execution of the orders and processes of the United States courts, and the prevention of any obstruction of United States mails. The notion that the territory of any state is too sacred to permit the exercise thereon by the United States government of any of its legitimate functions never had any legal existence, and, as a rule of conduct, became practically extinct with the close of the civil war.

President Cleveland responded to Governor Altgeld's protest against his assumption of despotic military power in these words:—

While I am persuaded that I have neither transcended my authority nor duty in the emergency that confronts us, it seems to me that in this hour of danger and public distress, discussion may well give way to active effort on the part of all in authority to restore obedience to law and to protect life and property.

This is perhaps the most absurd and unworthy utterance made during the whole conflict. If reason is to be put aside for the mere domination of brute force at a moment of grave public danger involving the legal rights of the millions, at a time when any injurious and reactionary measure may become a precedent and a serious factor in the obstruction of remedial measures to deal with the evil later, then we may well ask, What is President Cleveland's conception of his function as the chief magistrate of this democracy? If ever there was a time for serious conference and discussion before committing this country to some dangerous, untried policy of federalism and militarism, it was during the month of June, 1894. It is the part of law breakers to act sometimes in this hasty manner—action and violence first and reflection and the establishing of authority afterward; but if we cannot expect reason to obtain sway in the minds of the administrators of the law, we are in a bad way indeed.

I would respectfully remind Mr. Cleveland that the essence of the law is reason—he can turn up the authorities; they include

Coke and Blackstone and all the heavy weights of law — and the jurisdiction of the federal courts is essentially that of courts in equity. As the highest representative of a popular government, Mr. Cleveland himself is not so much committed to constabulary functions as to the maintenance of equitable rights. He abdicates something more worthy than his authority when he puts his scorn upon temperate discussion and reason in order to carry out his will; he abdicates the esteem of all intelligent, reasonable men, who know that if the world is ever to progress socially and politically it can only do so through limiting the dominion of mere force and investing the law more and more with reason. Even the constabulary is supposed to be governed by reason. We thought our constitutional laws were imbued with something of this civilized character, but according to Mr. Olney we were grievously mistaken.

As a matter of fact Mr. Cleveland could not satisfy the objections of Governor Altgeld reasonably. He was evidently committed from the beginning to a programme which for its success depended upon the bold declaration and importation of new principles into the laws of this country. This could not be safely attempted by legislation; but it could be done by other means. It remains to be seen whether the American people will accept these new and strange principles as declared by Attorney General Olney and the machinery of the department of justice. Mr. Cleveland ignored the question at issue entirely, and most unwisely and arrogantly, for he tried to, as the newspapers put it, "snub" the governor of Illinois, which was certainly a great indiscretion in a public functionary, however high his office, called upon to consider a grave public question, not merely affecting official dignity but the lives, fortunes and rights of thousands of free citizens. In dealing with a tributary race with no political rights it may be safe and expedient for an officer of a distant central government to put aside the question of law and authority — although Pontius Pilate hesitantly considered it; but in dealing with the social troubles of a free people, self-governing citizens, it does not reveal either wisdom or honest intention to ignore the local authorities invested with the people's rights and liberties. The principle of local self government is just as fundamental in our institutions as that of federal supremacy. The latter is indeed historically derived from the former and has always been hedged about with safeguards to maintain inherent in this democracy the essential and fundamental principles of popular government. Governor Altgeld pointed out to President Cleveland that: —

In assuming the executive has the legal right to order federal troops into any community in the United States in the first instance whenever there is any disturbance, and that he can do this without any regard to

the question as to whether that community is able to and ready to enforce the law itself; and inasmuch as the executive is the sole judge of the question as to whether any disturbance exists or not in any part of the country, this assumption means that the executive can send federal troops into any community in the United States at his pleasure and keep them there as long as he chooses. If this is the law, then the principle of local self-government either never did exist in this country, or else has been destroyed.

It is also a fundamental principle in our government that, except in times of war, the military shall be subordinate to the civil authorities. In harmony with this provision, the state troops, when ordered out, act under and with the civil authorities. The federal troops ordered to Chicago are not under the civil authorities, and are in no way responsible to them for their conduct. They are not even acting under the United States marshal, or under any federal officer of the state, but are acting directly under military orders issued from military headquarters at Washington, and, in so far as these troops act at all, it is military government.

The statute authorizing federal troops to be sent into states in certain cases contemplates that the state troops shall be taken first. This provision has been ignored, and it is assumed that the executive is not bound by it. Federal interference with industrial disturbances in the various states is certainly a new departure, and it opens up so large a field that it will require a very little stretch of authority to absorb to itself all the details of local government.

Troops were ordered into Illinois upon the demand of the post office department and upon representations of the judicial officers of the United States that process of the courts could not be served, and upon proof that conspiracies existed. All of these officers are appointed by the executive. Most of them can be removed by him at will. They are not only obliged to do his bidding, but they are in effect a part of the executive. If several of them can apply for troops, one alone can; so that under the law, as you assume it to be, an executive, through any one of his appointees, can apply to himself to have the military sent into any city or number of cities, and base his application on such representations or showings as he sees fit to make. The executive is the sole judge. Then the executive can pass on his own application—his will being the sole guide; he can hold the application to be sufficient and order troops to as many places as he wishes, and put them in command of any one he chooses, and have them act, not under the civil officers, either federal or state, but act directly under military orders from Washington, and there is not in the constitution or laws of the land, whether written or unwritten, any limitation or restraint upon his power. His judgment, that is, his will, is the sole guide, and it being purely a matter of discretion, his decision can never be examined or questioned. This assumption as to the power of the executive is certainly new, and I respectfully submit that it is not the law of the land. The jurists have told us that this is a government of law, and not a government by the caprice of individuals, and further, that instead of being autocratic, it is a government of limited power. Yet the autocrat of Russia could certainly not possess or claim to possess greater power than is possessed by the executive of the United States, if this assumption is correct.

The executive has the command, not only of the regular forces of the United States, but of the military forces of all the states, and can order them to any place he sees fit to, and it will be an easy matter under your construction of the law for an ambitious executive to order out the military forces of all of the states and establish at once a military government. The only chance of failure in such a movement could come from rebellion.

All the Tory plutocratic newspapers have hailed with delight the importation into our government of the principles of the old Federal party. In the open fusion of the Democratic and Republican wings of the plutocratic party Mr. Cleveland is the great "historic" heretic, who is to pave the way for Caesarism in the next century. It is a great project and a high ambition. The question is, Will the mass of free men in this republic allow the conspiracy to succeed? Are we ready for a Caesar? Would not even an innocuous spendthrift "constitutional" monarchy of millinery, such as England puts up with because of its absolute nonentity in all political affairs, be preferable? Mr. Cleveland appears to be acting under a war measure of 1861, which was set aside by the law passed in 1877, after the big strikes in Pennsylvania. The measure of 1861 was framed expressly for meeting the exigencies of war time; but the law of 1877 had this rider attached:—

It shall not be lawful to employ any part of the army of the United States as a *posse comitatus* or otherwise for the purpose of executing laws, except in such cases and under such circumstances as such employment of such force may be expressly authorized by the constitution or by act of Congress, and no money appropriated by this act shall be used to pay any of the expenses incurred.

Mr. Cleveland, in his letter to Governor Altgeld, says in substance that the troops were ordered out as a *posse comitatus*, which is a violation of the law.

Under this interpretation of the law there can be no doubt that Section 4, Article 4 of the constitution still remains in force: "The United States shall guarantee to every state in the union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence."

It will thus be seen that Mr. Olney's and Mr. Cleveland's whimsical ideas of their functions and authority are at variance with the constitution of the United States. Governor Altgeld points out if Mr. Cleveland is supported by the law and public opinion, then the will of the executive is the only law in this country, and home rule and self government are forever abrogated, unless the people upset their governors, and hence destroy the law. But that would be revolution.

This is certainly a strange political doctrine under any form of popular government, in a limited constitutional monarchy, for instance, but it is indeed an extraordinary assumption to come from one of the chief officers of a Democratic administration of this republic. In the early political discords of this republic the Federalists advocated this doctrine of the centralization of all power in the federal authority, and it was not until the Jeffer-

sonian opposition ideas prevailed that this union of states was firmly and harmoniously established. The doctrines of Alexander Hamilton, great man as he was, were opposed to the needs of governmental elasticity essential to the peace and development of a modern self-governing people, and to revive them at the end of this century is to revive the conceptions of the central authority and its functions which were as much held by George the Third himself as by Alexander Hamilton. George the Third desired to interfere with the liberties, not of foreign states, but merely distant provinces, and he held the central government was imbued with the necessary legislative and judicial authority. It most certainly was at the time, but his authority was, nevertheless, regarded as too whimsical for toleration by a large-minded, independent, intelligent people desirous of governing themselves. It was not taxes on tea, but the determination to obtain Home Rule, that brought about the Revolution, but for which little incident Mr. Olney's views might be quite tenable, if he were Attorney General to a British kingdom that had not changed its political institutions since 1776. Unfortunately for Mr. Olney's judicial wisdom the political institutions of Great Britain *have* changed, and his doctrine would be as fantastic and impossible within the Empire as it is here. For instance, his conception of the jurisdiction and functions of the central government would not be tenable in Queen Victoria's Canadian or Australian provinces, or even between the Dominion and the provincial governments.

The Civil War was not fought over the question of local government. Neither Buchanan's nor Lincoln's administration questioned the right of the slaveholding states to govern themselves in all domestic and internal affairs, and the right of the slaveholding states to administer laws not applicable in other states was not opposed. The Civil War arose not over a question of the domestic rights of government insured by the constitution to the slave states, but over the constitutionality of extending those privileges to newly created states on their borders. This was held rightly to be a matter for the federal jurisdiction. Let us in quoting events of history for justification of present conditions be absolutely honest, Mr. Attorney General. If it had not been for "bleeding Kansas" and the opportunity afforded Abraham Lincoln by the cessation of reciprocal obligations, caused by the rebellion, of declaring slavery throughout the Union forever abolished, we might possibly see human chattels in Virginia, Louisiana and the Carolinas to-day.

If the doctrine of state rights is so obsolete, it is rather strange no less than five state governors concurred in condemning President Cleveland's declaration of the supremacy of the military authority over the civil government and in declaring that it was

without precedent and dangerous. The fact is, of course, that the doctrine of state rights cannot be obsolete until popular government itself is obsolete. It is the fundamental principle of a democracy of states.

Under this reactionary federal interpretation of the law we have already witnessed many strange things. The last scene is the arrest of certain leaders of the labor movement on charges of "conspiracy," which are assuredly untenable under the definition of conspiracy given in the constitution. An attempt is being made to try these men on criminal indictments in federal courts without a jury for no outrage of the law, for no destruction of life or property, but for being officers of labor organizations formed for the purpose of opposing capitalistic aggressions by the passive resistance of quitting their work. Are these things really happening in the United States, in the year 1894, — is this really the democracy which crushed the power of King George the Third for certain invasions of the liberty of the subject no greater in degree, and no more peremptory and absolute in character?

If the masses of American voters are ready for and reconciled to Cæsarism they will continue to return indefinitely either the Democrats or the Republicans, one or the other wing of the plutocratic conspiracy, to power. If they have any fantastic scruples of conscience and manhood, any love of liberty of speech and freedom of action, they will sweep the Democratic and Republican gang of tricksters and boughten rascals into the same limbo that echoes with the divine right of kings and the political philosophy of the old American Federal party.

MESSAGE OF MOUNT LOWE.*

BY JAMES G. CLARK.

WE were born of the earthquake, the mist and the fire,
And rocked and baptized in the foam of the brine;
The Earth is our Mother, the Sun is our Sire,
And the planets at night on our bosoms recline;
The Earth is our Mother — we lean on her breast
When the full moon awakes on her outermost rim,
And the shield of our father lies low in the West,
And his eyelids have closed and his glory waxed dim.

When the world was unsullied by hatred and strife,
Ere the plunder and slaughter of war had begun —
Ere Man had come forth from the Fountains of Life —
We were turning our gaze to the stars and the sun, —
And as Teachers and Toilers and Builders with God,
We were weaving the warp and the web of the lands,
And the valleys and plains that the races have trod,
In their ebb and their flow, are the work of our hands.

The cycles crept on, with their seasons and days —
Those shuttles that play in the infinite loom —
And our Mother rejoiced at her lover's fond gaze,
And her being responded in gladness and bloom, —
Till the hungry invaders and pillagers came
With instincts of heaven and passions of hell,
And our bare hands were lifted in protest and shame
While millions in conflict and agony fell.

We were tired of the clashing of sabre and spear,
So we opened our lips to the Powers above,
And prayed for some Hero of Truth to appear
And plant on our summits the emblems of Love.
He came not with cannon and red battle flags,
In the vauntings of might and the spirit of war,
Yet the lightnings and torrents leaped down from our crags
To be harnessed as helpers and steeds to his car.

* The Sierra Madre Mountains are a noble range in Southern California, near Los Angeles and Pasadena. They rise from San Gabriel Valley to an altitude of 6,000 feet. The genius, or "Hero of Truth," referred to is Prof. T. S. C. Lowe, who projected and built the remarkable mountain railway which penetrates the deep canyons and surmounts the granite cliffs of the range that culminates in Mount Lowe.

Dr. Lewis Swift, the eminent astronomer, formerly of Warner Observatory, Rochester, N. Y., is the "Seer" of the poem, who now presides over the Lowe Observatory located on a spur called Echo Mountain.

This poem was recited by the author at a reception which Professor Lowe and the council and people of Pasadena extended to Professor Swift and wife, June 8, 1894.

The steeds had been tamed by the touch of his hand,
And well knew the lesson the Master had taught,
And bent to their task at the word of command
To capture a realm with the chariots of Thought;
And we, who the thunders of Time have defied
Since our rule o'er the lowlands and waters began —
And we, who to commerce our gates have denied,
Surrender at last to the genius of man.

Still with feet to the desert and ocean we rise;
And with faces upturned to the stillness profound,
And worlds looking down with their wonderful eyes,
And clouds like white garments encircling us round,
We question the dawn, as we silently kneel,
And lo! by the light of the Orient's face,
A Prophet approaches whose wand shall unseal
The secrets that sleep in the bosom of space.

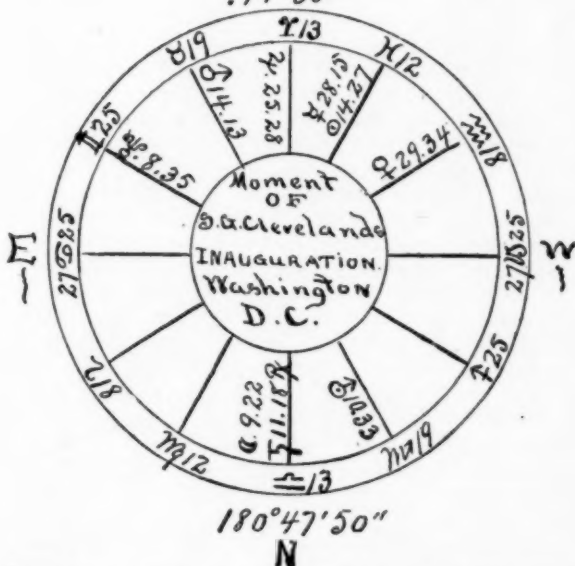
His soul has communed with the souls of the Seers
Whose dreams with the thoughts of the Infinite blend;
His life is in tune with the harp of the spheres,
And he talks with the planets as friend talks with friend:
And from treasures and tributes of forest and mine,
And stones that are quarried from canyon and glen,
Arises a temple — an altar divine,
Where the stars shall come down and hold council with men.

The ages shall roll, with their decades and years —
Those pages and leaves in the volume of Time,
Whose records are written in smiles or in tears,
Or painted in shadows, or symbols sublime —
And the children of men shall the story recount
Of the victory won o'er the gods of the heights,
While pilgrims ascend to our shrine on the mount
To be led by the stars to the "Father of Lights."

1893 - March 4th Siderial T. = 22.53
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MAP OF THE HEAVEN AT TIME MR. CLEVELAND TOOK THE OATH OF OFFICE.

AN ASTROLOGICAL FORECAST OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.*

BY JULIUS ERICKSON.

At the moment when Grover Cleveland took the oath of office, the celestial solstitial sign "Cancer," which the Moon rules, was rising on the eastern horizon; hence the Moon, which denotes the public and in this case the Democratic party also (because Cleveland represents that party), is his ruling planet, or, in astrological nomenclature, "significator." Ordinarily, a person denoted by the moon in a nativity is not, "astrologically speaking," gifted with very great tenacity of purpose, but in horary or state astrology the conditions are varied somewhat.

The first thing observable in the accompanying horoscope is that the four cardinal points, viz., east, south, west and north, marked in the figure, are occupied by what are termed "movable" signs. These are so termed for the reason that when the Sun in his daily course through the zodiac reaches the first point of either of these signs, viz., spring, summer, autumn or winter, the seasons are "movable or varied," that is, liable to be a trifle early or a trifle late, according to atmospherical and local conditions. As a contradistinction to these are the fixed signs, the first named being "Aries," "Cancer," "Libra" and "Capricornus," which correspond to the beginning of the four seasons; the latter four being "Taurus," "Leo," "Scorpio" and "Aquarius," which signify that when the sun enters the first point of either of these, the season is fixed, or is in the heart of spring, summer, autumn or winter, meaning May, August, October and February.

As before observed, the movable signs hold the four cardinal points. This is an evil testimony for the stability and endurance of the Democratic party, and is an equally bad testimony for the policy of the administration. Hence the course of events will be singularly marked with serious and conflicting elements of uncertainty with regard to the methods which will be observed in a great many instances, sometimes arriving at conclusions or decisions with remarkable exhibitions of speed, and at others

* This paper was submitted exactly as here published the third week in March, 1893, a duplicate copy being filed with the Librarian at Washington at the same time. See note by editor at close of article.

with an equally exasperating degree of slowness. *The president's judgment in many cases will be decidedly at variance with the policy which the public will expect to emanate from the head of the Democratic party*, which will be the cause of producing some extremely unpleasant conditions, and sharp criticisms not entirely calculated to multiply his earthly pleasures; and *he will have a far more troublesome, annoying, disappointing and anxiously vexatious time of it than any president has had since Lincoln*. This is owing to the Moon, his ruling planet, being in close conjunction with the malignant Saturn in the lower quadrant of the horoscope.

However, Jupiter, lord of all the planets and the deification of all earthly good and honors, and who is as powerful for good as Saturn is for evil, is fortunately placed in the tenth house, the house of honor, and elevated above all the others; hence his indications are exceptionally powerful, and this is the one most favorable testimony. This signifies that personally, the president will in a measure be comparatively successful in his general management of public affairs.

The rising sign denotes the public, and its being in conjunction with Saturn is an extremely evil indication for the welfare, health and general condition of the people during his term; hence I judge severe trouble, great trials, sickness and in various other ways more trouble in general than for many years past, will inevitably ensue. The sign Leo, which the Sun rules, denotes the wealth of the nation. What are the prospects? Not favorable, for the Sun is cadent, out of all dignities, and in no aspect with either Jupiter or Venus to promise wealth. The Moon must also be considered, and the Moon is in evil aspect with Saturn. However, I judge there will be a slight, only a slight, increase in the wealth of the nation, on account of Jupiter and the Sun being elevated and in mutual reception by house and exaltation; hence an increase is indicated, but not so much as it should be.

During Cleveland's incumbency there will be discovered some startling mischief, or some fearful calamity, something entirely out of the general run of affairs in connection with some of our public buildings, in which the general government is interested; but if it is of a criminal nature, "Lord help the criminals." This strange prediction is based on the position of Uranus in the fourth mansion, and Uranus has ever been held to signify odd and entirely unexpected calamities, such as come in strange and singular ways; the precise nature cannot be foretold, but the probabilities are clearly indicated. Observe it well.

The navy will be increased by decided measures, and the end will justify the means (we want a good navy). Jupiter, ruler of

the sixth house, placed so powerfully in Aries the house of Mars, and Jupiter ruler of the fiery triplicity being ruled in turn by Mars, who is deified as the god of war, promise the best and most powerful navy afloat, and furthermore denote the glorious success of the men-of-war if ever called upon to exhibit deeds of valor.

As for Cleveland personally, his administration will be marked by his success in his endeavors to carry out against heavy odds whatever he undertakes to do, *but the public will dissent in various ways.* The house of Congress will not be very kindly disposed towards him on account of the position of Mars on the cusp of the eleventh house, and just when he thinks he can fully rely on his friends therein for support there is an extreme liability of their utterly failing him, and so creating unlooked-for disaster to the administration. They may at first appear to be hand in glove with him, but it is only transitory, for those who have sworn or professed friendship for him will be very liable to turn traitor to him. However, in spite of all these evil indications, he will somehow carry an element of success with him and this will pull him through until near the close.

But in 1895 the clouds begin to lower. This will be an extremely disastrous period; affairs go wrong, personal friends prove false, treachery and disappointment show their gaunt and haggard features in every corner, and trouble boils the kettle. Then the cloud is lifted for a short time during the middle of the year; vain hope, the end is unfavorable. His administration begins to lack that forcefulness the people expect. Though occasionally brilliant *coup d'etats* will serve to lighten the gloom, nevertheless the fulness of success is lacking and the lines of time draw close towards the end. *But the most disastrous time of the whole will eventuate in 1896, and the close of his term will witness the most startling changes in the political history of the United States.*

The indications point to an entirely new party, the formations of new principles, new men and new ideas, which will lead to the relegation of the Democratic party to the black forest of oblivion. The Cleveland administration enters with the blare of trumpets and a blaze of glory, but will depart under a cloud of sinister conditions, and at that eventful time the following prediction will be verified, — "The Democratic party will fail to elect its candidate in 1896 if it places one in the field."

A few words by way of explanation may be of interest. Outside of my astrological judgment, there is a time to every purpose under the heavens. Nature never works blindly, but with a certain and sure end in view. Observe the different strata of earth formation, telling of an adaptation of nature to the needs of prehistoric man. Gaze into the waters of the seas, and note

the different varieties of piscatorial life. Study the strange conditions of the denizens of subterranean lakes, where the eternal light of day never enters; these wonderful fish have not even the semblance of rudimentary eyes! Why? Because eyes are made to see with, and having no light to use, eyesight would be superfluous. Thus we see that nature never wastes, and in all these wonders its hand is clearly shown. Furthermore, no such thing as chance or accident can or ever did exist. Rev. A. P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster Abbey (1864-76), uttered during a celebrated sermon: "The nineteenth century may close in darkness, but the twentieth will dawn in light. The prophets whom we stone our sons will honor, and the calamities of this world, so it would appear seem, not by accident, but by fixed laws and a combination of causes, which, on looking back, seems irresistible."

The enemies of astrology would do well to ponder and examine proofs before condemning something they do not understand. So in nature we observe everything adapted to our wants, and a wise provision for every act. I will illustrate. When Cleveland was nominated in June, the celestial intelligences pointed to his election. The predictions made then have been fulfilled, completing that act of the play, but now another act is to be consummated. This—Cleveland could have taken the oath of office at high noon. The inclemency of the weather would have been a good excuse for doing so; but no, his spiritual forces, unknown to him, prompted him to take the oath of office when the indications for certain conditions and effects to follow were complete. Hence while we may be practically free to do as we elect, yet there is an overpowering intelligence to point the way and shape our ends. In the language of Pope,

"The universal cause
Acts to one end, but acts by various laws."

In conclusion I will say that I am entirely uninfluenced by personal feelings, but offer my predictions based on the rules of the science of astrology alone. I am open to conviction of the falsity of the art, but my critics must furnish absolute proofs, based on demonstrable elements of fact, instead of parroting the words of some would-be authority which is no authority at all. And I offer this article in advance of any ever published in America, so that the public who are interested can watch the events accordingly; in the hope that they will

"Nothing extenuate,
Or aught set down in malice."

NOTES ON THE ABOVE BY THE EDITOR.

Three weeks after the inauguration of President Cleveland I received the foregoing paper, with the accompanying map of the heavens at the time the president took the oath of office. In submitting this paper,

Mr. Erickson stated that he had already sent copies to Washington, where they had been copyrighted. This he did in order to have a historical record of the prediction made at the opening of an administration which came in with the blare of trumpets, and with all branches of the government in the control of the party of Grover Cleveland.

I submitted the paper to some friends, most of whom regarded the predictions as wild and visionary. They pointed to the fact that the democracy was now in power in all branches of government, that the claim was being made that for the next quarter of a century the party would be dominant, and that it would be absurd to suppose that President Cleveland, with the experience of four years behind him, would antagonize his party in the way indicated.

Personally, I believed the predictions would be substantially verified, although I arrived at my conclusions from entirely different premises to those upon which Mr. Erickson based his opinions. I had noticed the statement, first published by the *Wall Street News* of March 2, 1893, that the president had, during the preceding four years, made an enormous sum of money in Wall Street speculations. A few particularly odious stocks were mentioned as those upon which he had realized most money in that Monte Carlo of America, that paradise of gamblers and acquirers of wealth. I felt that if the published statements were true, Mr. Cleveland had come so completely under the Wall Street and monopolistic influence that he would attempt to carry out the financial policy of his Republican predecessor, and in other ways prove as subservient to corporate interests as had the party of the opposition.

The cabinet selections confirmed this impression; for it was an ominous fact that most of the advisers chosen by the president were, at the time of their appointment, directors in railroads, banks or other great organizations representing corporate power and greed; and, most portentous of all, it was seen that the president had selected to fill the office of attorney general a railroad attorney, who, as counsel for the whiskey trust, had filed nine demurrers in Boston, some months before his selection, in which he declared the anti-trust law, which the Democratic party and its president were pledged to enforce, was unconstitutional and void. When it was seen that a railroad director and an attorney for railroads and counsel for the whiskey trust had been elected to see to the enforcement of the interstate commerce law and to redeem one of the important planks of the platform Mr. Cleveland had pledged himself to carry out, by the vigorous prosecution of illegal trusts, I feared that the course of the administration would be more in accordance with the demands of the trusts, the railroads, the money lenders and the gamblers of Wall Street than in line with a policy which would curb the dangerous usurpations of arrogant plutocracy and further the prosperity of the industrial millions.

One of my friends urged me not to publish the paper until a year or a year and a half later, so that at least enough might have taken place to cause the prediction to receive serious attention. "For," he added, "I believe by that time we will be in the midst of prosperity, that the Democratic party will be so strongly entrenched and Cleveland will be so popular with the rank and file of his party that you would not think of publishing it." A copy of the paper was made by a friend, and later a government officer in Washington desired a copy, to hold for verification. This paper is printed *verbatim* as it was received in March, 1893, and the author assured me when it was submitted, a year and a half ago, that it was a *verbatim* copy of the paper on file in Washington.

It is interesting to note the fact that our author gives his predictions entirely according to the influence which astrology ascribes to the

planets and signs. And it is important to remember that had the sign Cancer been rising at the moment the president was born he would have been an entirely different man from what he is, as Cancer is, in astrology, the most unstable and unsettled of the signs, being presided over by the "inconstant moon which monthly changes in its circled orb." As this sign was rising at the moment this administration came into power, it signified that the government which it represented and the party which at this time came into power would be characterized by uncertainty, by delay and exasperating frictions, with disappointing and probably fatal results for the party and the glory of the administration.

It is interesting to note the prediction in regard to Congress. The party of the president in the lower house was overwhelmingly in favor of an expansion of currency, and it was only on the solemn pledge that they would vote and work for free silver that a number of congressmen gained election. But it was the determination of Wall Street that the policy of demonetization inaugurated by the Republicans should be pushed to completion under the administration of President Cleveland. Mr. Cleveland expressed the wish of the money acquirers, and the parrots of plutocracy echoed it. But it was necessary to work long and arduously to influence enough congressmen to betray their constituency and stultify themselves to secure the enactment of the programme of the gold power.

Congressman Sibley charged in Congress that he had been given to understand that he need not expect appointments for friends if he did not act as the administration dictated, rather than be faithful to the pledges made to his constituency. Mr. Clifton Breckinbridge was pledged to free silver; he voted with Wall Street, lost his renomination, but was promptly given a fat position by the administration. These are two of many instances which have, at least, a bad appearance. Now, while it is probably true that the lower house of Congress has been the most servile body which has assembled since the war, the upper house has been a constant thorn in the president's side; and more than one senator, even on his side of the house, has very savagely resented what has been regarded as his unprecedented interference with the coordinate departments of government. Moreover, it is certain that the incoming lower house will be very much more difficult to manage than the outgoing house.

The predictions are interesting in having been made at a time when three fourths of our people would have claimed that their fulfillment would be impossible. Astrology in olden times was the most esteemed of the sciences. Kepler was a profound believer in it, but during the Middle Ages it became encased in superstition, and was ultimately abandoned to credulity until recent years. Now, however, numbers of earnest and scholarly men are giving it their profound attention. They claim that there is much gold amid the accretion of superstition which gathered around it in ages of credulity and ignorance; that underneath all the absurdities lie great laws which are susceptible of demonstration, and that the stars do exert influences as potent as subtle on human life, until the spiritual nature is so awakened that man rises above the animal dominion and becomes master of himself, and superior to the forces which operate on the plane of animal supremacy.

I am not prepared to say how much truth there is in the claims made, but I am acquainted with profound thinkers and deeply thoughtful people who have made this science the subject of years of study, with the result that they are so firmly grounded that they cannot be shaken in their convictions. I further know that the most subtle influences are the most potent, and I believe it the duty of thinking people to investigate this as well as other subjects until they can put prejudice aside and intelligently decide, apart from any preconceived opinions, whether or not it contains sufficient truth to warrant exhaustive investigation.

B. O. FLOWER.

THE TRUE BASIS OF MONEY.

BY G. L. MCKEAN.

THERE are immutable laws of nature which, though they be ignored by ignorant or dishonest legislators, nevertheless constantly exert their influence on man and will ultimately completely triumph. All the evils from which humanity suffers grow out of the fact that man is constantly in conflict with these fundamental and unchangeable laws. Chief among these disregarded laws is that of ownership.

The ownership of the land and of the water is solely and for all time vested in the whole people. The only wealth that an individual can hold and control as his own is the product of his individual toil. The ownership of the land and water being vested in the whole people, the exclusive control of any portion thereof cannot, from the very nature of the ownership, be a matter of transfer between individuals. It is therefore not a basis of value for money, which is representative of transferable value.

In order that one person may devote all his hours of healthful labor, whether it be energy of brain or muscle or a combination of both, to the production of one kind or class of wealth, thus developing his ability to improve the quality of his product, it is requisite for his individual necessities that he produce more than he needs for his own consumption, and that he exchange his over-product for the various kinds of over-product of others that he may require for his comfort and enjoyment.

For convenience and to facilitate this exchange, the thing called money is created. This money should be of a material that has little or no intrinsic value, as otherwise it is given a fictitious value through the manipulations of non-producing speculators, and its representative character is lost sight of, to the great disadvantage of the producers of real wealth.

The volume of money should by the scheme of its production adjust itself to the requirements of exchange only, increasing or decreasing in exact ratio therewith. This would do away with the incentive of money hoarding, and make impossible a money aristocracy of non-producers, a class that now rules the world and retards civilization.

If these immutable laws were clearly recognized and obeyed, there would be no millionaires, and the drones would die of starvation or be hung for crime. The world would cease to produce Rothschilds and John Shermans, and the men who should attempt to defy these natural laws of ownership would be stigmatized as the real anarchists.

WHY DO NOT THE AMERICANS SPEAK THE FRENCH LANGUAGE?

BY MADAME JOSEPHINE STERLING.

THEY appear to study much, yet they speak very little. It is thought by the French people generally, that Americans have no great talent for languages. I think, on the contrary, that there is great talent among the Americans. To be sure, the incentive to the acquirement of a foreign language is not by any means as powerful in America, as, for instance, in the small country of Holland, where one to whom the language of that country is native, must pass his life altogether, or be quite cut off from intercourse with other nations—few persons being led to the acquirement of the Dutch language. The Hollander has, then, the strongest of reasons for gaining another language than his own—one more at the least. The incentive is certainly not as great with an English-speaking people like the Americans, still there is incentive.

There is everywhere a great admiration for the French language, and the wish to acquire facility in speaking French is also very great. The opportunities in America, owing to distances, may not be quite equal to those of England, but where the will is, there are always the means. "Professors," so-called, abound in America. 'Tis astonishing how many there are! There are lessons, and lessons, still how little speaking as yet of the French language! Why is this?

It is my personal thought, and very long have I held the opinion, that the mistake is in the *means of communication* of the foreign language to the student. The inundation of the student's ear and brain with foreign words and phrases by his French professor cannot, as I am forced to think, be the proper means. The very best means can, as it seems to me, be suggested only by the teacher who, like the student now seeking, has already sought and found.

The *desideratum* of the present time, then, lies in the employment of teachers of the pupil's own nationality. The Germans know well this truth, and practise it. They are certainly linguists. Here is their great secret. *Success will come in no other way.* How truly absurd that the English-speaking indi-

vidual can be taught to teach every science and every art, and yet be utterly ignored when the question arises of a language, except it be a dead, and not a living and spoken, language.

It seems so very simple and weak on the part of the Americans to accept an illiterate "bonne" or self-styled "professor," who has but his own language as an expedient or makeshift for his livelihood, while wandering away from his native land, where it is quite likely he was able to pass for nothing whatsoever. Benevolence, it is true, might here be in point, but benevolence now apart. The phraseology of the French "bonne" or of many a "French professor" is often, very often, that of the streets, to use a current phrase. Here in America the ignorant "bonne," and often the self-styled "French professor" actually receive homage, and their "systems" also, which they urge, "ignoring" both the English language and all grammar—a positive necessity, for a time at least (for themselves). And the many pupils who go to France, chiefly to Paris, stand aghast and forlorn at finding themselves unable to understand the language of the people, or to express themselves, save in a few detached words or limited phrases, rarely understood by the French.

The prejudices of Americans should have solid foundations. To be sure, Americans have not as yet carried very far the matter of conversing in any but the English language; but let a demand once be created, by another and more just judgment in the matter, and American professors will multiply, better equipped to impart the French, or any other foreign language, than any foreigner. And the teaching will be far more legitimate, because there will ever be a charm—there will even be enthusiasm, there will be positive happiness, in the impartation to one's own kith and kin of that which one has acquired.

I have lived many years in Paris, and *do* know that the French taught in this country may benefit the teachers, but as to the pupils, it leaves so much to be desired, so much—oh, so very much!

The German teaches English to the German children. He knows well their troubles in learning a foreign language, having experienced them all himself. Now, as the German teaches the foreign language to the German, let us hope that ere long the American will teach the foreign language to the American.

PRENATAL INFLUENCE.

BY M. LOUISE MASON.

I AM the happy mother of one child, a daughter, born of love not lust, who is now twenty-five years old.

I believe in reincarnation. I make this statement that I may be understood in declaring that the ego about to take upon itself the human form, does unmistakably affect the mother in very many instances; sometimes during the entire period of nine months, again only for a few days, weeks or months, according to the mother's physical strength, mutual peace and, above all, her material circumstances. If she is free from care and anxiety, surrounded with all that may tend to help the love nature, she will overcome unpleasant traits of the soul that has been attracted to herself.

In my own case, I was for the first six weeks overcome by an inexpressible loneliness, feeling sad and full of grief; after that period my surroundings were more to my liking, and I very soon became joyous, hopeful and ambitious. I had a desire to become a great musician; I was filled with regret that I had not a musical education.

At that time I had never known of prenatal influence or reincarnation; only had been warned by an elder sister (my mother dying when I was very young) that I must be very careful not to "mark" the unborn child by "any unpleasant sight—that I must always think of my condition and never put my hands to my face in fright or grief." This was to me a revelation, and I thought, if a child could be "marked" for evil, why not for good?

I would often sit alone in my room, overlooking scenes that were pleasant, and, in a peaceful attitude of mind, perfectly passive, desire that my child should be a girl; that she should have a slight figure, chestnut hair and beautiful eyes; that she should be a musician, a singer, and that she should be proficient in everything she undertook; that she should be superior to all those I had ever known. Here is the result: a beautiful woman in mind and body, with chestnut hair, slight physique and a phenomenal voice—contralto; she is a philosopher, a student in Delsarte, astronomy, astrology, and masters every study; is eloquent, and has one of the most amiable dispositions.

Her father desired a boy, and my sympathizing with him for a short time in this wish, about the fifth month, has given her the desire for outdoor sports. She skates, rides, rows, shoots, and has many of those little gallantries which we see often in the refined man. She has strong inclinations to teach men mannerisms in her Delsarte work; and I believe these qualities come from the influence of her father, who would not content himself with the thought of the child being other than a boy.

My six weeks' period of depression and grief was lived out by the child in the first six years of her life, when tears and unhappiness seemed to be the greater portion of her existence. After that came a joyous and ambitious life, every day happier than the preceding one.

My love for the unborn was so intense that it has created invisible lines which have grown with the years, and we have communicated our thought by telepathy, three hundred miles separating us. She has returned that love a thousand fold. She is all I desired and more; and I am confident that with mothers educated in the law of prenatal influence, and properly surrounded, we could have gods upon the earth in the forms of men, created by the highest and purest thought. It should not be an intense longing on the part of the mother, but a quiet, passive thought given, that her child should become whatever her heart yearns for; then she should rest in the belief until the thought is forced upon her again. Be as much in the open air as possible. Do not eat meat; live upon fruit and grain.

OLE LOGAN'S COURTSHIP.

BY WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

OLE Loge he's been a-courtin'.

Naw!

Is, now. He tol' big Si, his uncle, an' big Si he tol' little John, his nevvie, an' little John he tol' me. Little John wuz comin' down the road f'm his place, j'inin' mine on yon side, an' I met him — jest like I met you bit ago, comin' up f'm *your*, j'inin' mine on t' *other* side — an' him an' me we sot ourse'ves on the rail fence here jest like me an' you're doin' of now; an' little John he wuz pow'ful tickled about somethin'. I didn't know at first that that loose-j'inted, hide-bound, bean-pole figger of Loge Beaseley wuz passin' down t' the crossroads yander. Little John he begin to whittle a cedar splinter, like I'm a-doin', an' whilst he wuz whittlin' uv the cedar he tol' me about ole Loge's goin' a-courtin'.

An' little John he said the firs' thing Loge had to git his own consent to wuz the makin' of his mind up. When that wuz done the worst wuz over — so Logan allowed. But shucks! it wuz no more en half, if Logan hadn' been sech a blamed fool not to know it. But you see, bein' ez it had took Loge nigh about forty year to make up his mind to go court'n' it seemed sort o' big when he got it made up, naturly.

An' his ma, ez thinks to this good minute Loge's wearin' knee pants an' caliker jackets — when he tol' his ma 'bout his aimin' to git married, the ole lady jest bust out a-cryin' and said she wuz afeard he wuz too young to know how to choose, an' hadn't he better put it off a spell till she could look about fur him?

But Loge allowed he had about made up his mind it wuz to be one o' the Sid Fletcher gals, though he aint no ways made up his mind as to which un. Then little John said as how his ma took on mightily, and said the Sid Fletcher gals would do no ways in the worl' 'count o' their pa bein' a unbeliever. She wuz afeard it might be in the blood.

But Loge he helt out fur the Sid Fletcher gals, so little John say, and went up stairs to black his boots. They wuz his Sunday boots, an' they aint been wore much since ole Miss Hooper died, in the Cripple Creek neighborhood. An' his ma, sett'n' down stairs an' hearin' the blackin' box whackin' back into its place on

the floor ever' time Loge took the bresh out'n it, she smiled like an' begin to wonder ef 't be Miss Mary, though she 'lowed it *might* be Mandy; it couldn't in reason be that thar frisky little Jinnie.

Then she hoped to goodness Loge's wife ud be a knitter. Loge ud need some un to knit his socks when *she* wuz gone; an' some un to darn 'em, too, for she say there wa'n't another man in middle Tennessee as hard on his socks, so little John said Loge's ma said, as Loge Beaseley. An' as fur clean socks, Mis' Beaseley allowed there hadn't been a Sunday mornin' since Loge took to sleepin' upstairs, stid o' in the trundle bed in her room, that she ain't been obleeged to fetch his socks up to his door and wait there to git his s'iled ones; Loge bein' that furgitful he ud put on one clean un an' one s'iled un, one white an' one red, maybe, or else jest put on both the same ole s'iled uns ag'in an' sen' the clean uns back to the wash tub.

Loge's bashful, you know, mighty skeery o' women. Ain't never looked at a gal on Cripple Creek, barrin' the Sid Fletcher gals. He had opened uv the big gate wunst fur Mandy when she rid a buckin' horse to meet'n', an' the blamed critter jest wouldn't side up to the gate so's she c'u'd reach the latch.

An' wunst when there wuz a campmeet'n' over in the Fox Camp neighborhood, what they useter have ever' wunst a year, Loge he wuz there. An' he passed a hymn book to that pretty little Jinnie o' the Sid Fletcher gang. The pars'n he axed Loge to pass the books roun', and Loge done it. Little John say he handed in an' about *sevin* books, bein' that frustrated he didn't know there's anybody else at the meet'n', after Jinnie smiled, an' kep' a "Thank you, sir, I've got a book," ever' time Loge offered her another.

All the folks wuz smilin' too, but he didn't know it; he didn't know he had set his big foot down on Jinnie's new cloth gaiter, or that he had clear furgot to turn back the hem o' his pantaloons that he had turned up in crossin' the creek on the rocks, havin' walked over to camp 'count o' his ma havin' rid the sorrel mare over on Sadday, her havin' to fetch a lot o' victuals an' sech fur Sunday. An' he didn't know ez he'd wore one red sock an' one white un; his ma not bein' there to see ez he got fellows. An' little John say there wuz the fool a-poppin' up an' a-dodgin' up an' down the meet'n' house with three inches o' red a-shinin' up on un leg, betwixt shoe an' pantaloons, an' three inches o' white on t'other—just like a jockey at a race track or a fool clown in a circus fur all the worl'.

An' little John say to cap it all, an' clap the climax, there wuz a long white string a-dodgin' Loge's lef' heel all roun' the meet'n' house, makin' ole Loge look like one o' these here wooden limber

jack fellers that run up a stick an' double theirse'ves inter a knob ef you pull a string. That's what little John say. An' everybody wuz a-laffin', an' Jinnie she wuz snickerin' behin' her hymn book, fur ever' time she smiled Loge he'd come a-jouncin' back to poke another book at her.

But lor, ole Loge allowed all them smiles wuz jest 'count o' him; an' little John say that's how come he first got that fool notion about goin' a-courtin'. Little John say ole bach'lors are sech blamed fools, an' so stuck on theirse'ves, they thinks if a woman looks at 'em they're breakin' their necks to marry o' 'em.

So ole Loge he got it into *his* head to git married. Though he wa'n't settled in his min' as to which o' the gals he'd take. He wuz kind o' stuck on the whole gang, little John say. An' Loge say he owed it ter all o' 'em to marry 'em, he wuz 'feard. Now, there wuz Miss Mary, the ol'est one; little John say Loge foun' a guinea nes' wunst in the corner o' the fur eend fence what divides their two plantations. 'Twuz some time in May; there wuz twenty odd eggs in the nes' when Loge found it. Little John say Loge knowed it wuz a guinea nes' 'count o' the old guinea hen bein' a-sett'n' on it whenst he foun' it. An' the fool skeered her off; she didn't want to git off much, but Loge made her. He punched her with a fence rail till he broke three eggs; but he got her druv off at last.

An' then he picked up the eggs in his hat an' fetched 'em up to the house, allowin' they must be Miss Mary's, bein' as they wuz on her side the fence; and bein', too, as Miss Mary wuz the housekeeper an' 'tended to the chickens an' things, her ma bein' knocked up with rheumatism fur the last endurin' five years. So Loge he fetched the eggs up in his hat, mighty keerful not to break a single one. He tromped across the clover bottom, two corn fiel's, a cotton-patch, an' a strip o' woods lot, bareheaded, in the blazin' sun; little John say his bald head look like a b'iled beet with the skin took off when he got to the kitchen door an' give the eggs to ole Aunt Cindy, the cook, askin' her to give 'em to Miss Mary fur him.

Ole Aunt Cindy she looked sorter skeered like, a minute, an' then she gin a grunt, but she aint sayin' nothin' till Logan's gone home. Then she walked out the back door an' flung them guinea eggs over in the hog lot. Then she went in the house an' tol' Miss Mary ole Logan Beaseley done broke up the guinea nest they wuz lookin' fur to hatch out nex' day. She say there wuz twenty-one little dead guineas layin' over in the hog lot, all just ready to hop out o' their shells.

Miss Mary didn't say much — she's allus mighty quiet an' sober an' dignified; but Mandy, the second gal, she flared up an' allowed a fool-killer would be a mighty welcome vis'tor to *that*

neighborhood, *that* he would. An' Jinnie, the young, pretty one, she jest laffed out, fit to kill, an' asked Aunt Cindy if she couldn't have scrambled guineas fur breakfast.

Ole Logan wuz bewitched, I reckon. Little John say he wuz camigned. He didn't know which o' the gals he ud take, but he tol' his ma he felt obligated to marry one o' the Sid's, 'count o' havin' paid 'em consider'ble notice—meanin' the big gate, the hymn book, *an'* the guinea eggs—an' folks ud be ap' to talk if he didn't. Besides, the gals would expect it, an' feel sorter slighted if he didn't marry into the fam'ly.

Him an' Sid wuz good frien's. He had borrowed Sid's chilled plow wunst when his own wuz at the blacksmith's an' the river riz so's he couldn't go fur it. An' Sid had borrowed Loge's steelyards wunst to weigh some cotton, before sendin' of it off to the gin. He didn't visit anywheres else much, outside o' funer'ls an' meet'n's at the church.

So he set off on the sorrel; that little runt of a mare with the sway back, an' a tail that the calf chawed off one night when Loge put the calf up in the stable along o' the mare, so's to keep it from chawin' up the saddle blanket hangin' in the back po'ch. Little John say his uncle met Loge comin' up the lane on the sorrel. He say he knows ole Noah took that little swayback in the ark with him, 'count o' it bein' little like, an' its back makin' a good seat fur his grandchillen to ride on.

An' he say that Cripple Creek wuz right smart up, an' ole Loge had to hol' up his long legs to keep 'em out the water, 'count o' havin' on his best Sunday pantaloons; spankin' new ones to go courtin' in. So Loge he hitched his feet up behin' him, 'g'in' the swayback's flanks, an' plumb furgot to take 'em down any more, but rid right up to the gate with his legs hunked behin' him, like a grasshopper ready fur to jump.

He seen the gals at the winder, all smilin' a welcome, as Loge thought, an' again he begin to wonder *which* one he *orter* take. He tied the sorrel to a hick'ry limb an' went on up todes the house.

The house has got a new wing made o' log; it aint quite finished yit, an' there's two front doors. Loge couldn't fur the life uv him tell which door he *orter* take, an' he begin to git orful skeered that minute. He went on, though, bekase he see he couldn't make it back to the sorrel without passin' the winder again; an' he allowed to his uncle, big Si, as how he'd a ruther died as to a-parsed that there winder again. So he plunged right on, inter the wrong door, an' run into the gals' room where Miss Mary wuz sort'n' out clean clothes, 'count o' it bein' Sadday evenin'.

When she looked up from the pile o' petticoats she wuz

count'n' an' see that figger o' Loge's in the door, she jest riz right up, an' says she, kind o' fierce like, "Father's down in the cornfiel'; you can go down there, or I'll ring the bell fur him."

Loge he begin to twist his coat tails; they wuz already half way up to his armpits, so little John say; an' little John say he reckon he clear furgot about havin' come a-court'n', fur says he, "No'm; no, Miss Mary, you needn't ring the ole man up — I jest called by over here to — to — er" — he saw a cedar pail on the shelf in the open passage way betwixt the back end part o' the house, the dinin' room an' kitchen, an' the front part where the fam'ly lives, an' that cedar pail wuz the savin' uv him — "I jest come over here," says he, "to git a goad o' water."

An' Miss Mary she stepped to the passage with him, an' p'inted first to the pail on the shelf an' then to the wellsweep down in the yard, an' says she, "There's the pail; it's full an' fresh, but if it ain't enough to satisfy your thirst yonder's the well."

Loge allowed to his uncle as he decided right there he wouldn't choose Miss Mary; he begin to see she didn't suit him. He say he wuz afeard she couldn't *darn socks*.

It was jest when Loge lifted the goad to his mouth that Jinnie she called out to Miss Mary from her ma's room, an' say she: —

"Sister Mary, ma says you're to fetch Mr. Beasley right in here to the fire" — the ole 'oman keeps a fire goin' winter an' summer, 'count o' the rheumatiz — "she says she knows he's tired after his thirsty ride."

Rid four miles fur a goad o' water; cross Cripple Creek three times, an' Pant'er twicet, to say nothin' o' Forkid Branch that winds in an' out an' up an' across them two plantations like a moonstruck chicken snake tryin' to foller out the corporation line o' them Tennessee towns what hev been down with the boom fever, an' aint made out to set itse'f straight yit! That sharp little Jinnie seen through that excuse in half a minute, an' that's why she called out to Loge to come in.

But little John say the fool ain't no more'n heard her voice than the goad went *whack* to the floor like a sky rocket on the home run.

"You're to come right in, Mr. Beasley," says Jinnie, "an' you're to put your horse in the barn first, if you please, because pa's got a new heifer cow that's had to be turned in the yard to keep her out o' the cornfiel'. An' she's that give to chewin' things Aunt Cindy has to dry the clean clothes in the kitchen to keep her from eat'n' us all clean out of a change. She's e't up two tablecloths an' a sheet, three petticoats an' a brand new pair o' my sister Mary's stockin's. She'll eat your saddle flaps teetotally off if you leave your mare out there."

Ole Loge he looked foolish; the yearlin' at home had gnawed

them saddle skirts into sassage meat long ago. He put his horse up, though, in the barn—the *big* barn what opens on to the lane. An' little John say the blamed fool furgot ter shut the barn door, an' the mare walked out same time Loge did, an' walked right on back home.

Well, little John say it begin to rain todes dark, an' the ole man he tol' Loge he mus' stay all night; an' Loge he done it. You see, they built up a right peart fire, 'count o' rheumatiz an' rain, an' they give Loge a seat in the cornder. An' when black-eyed Mandy axed him if he didn't think a sprinklin' now'n then wuz healthy, he bein' Methodist, ole Loge got that skeered he made a lunge at the big iron shovil an' begin to twist it roun' an' roun', an' to say he didn't know but what t'was! Then he begin to jab his fingers through the iron ring at the end o' the shovil handle; an' he kep' that up till he got to his thumb; an' hit went through all right, but it stuck. Loge he got plumb skeered then; twis' an' screw *as* he would the darn thing wouldn't budge. So when ole man Sid axed him to stay all night he said he would, bekase you see he couldn't go home nohow if he'd a mind to 'less he carried the shovil, too.

An' then the supper bell rung, an' the ole man' bid 'em all out to supper; but Loge he said he wouldn't choose any—he wuzn't a mighty hearty feeder at night, count o' dreams. An' little John say the folks went out an' left him, an' bein' left to hisse'f he set about gittin' loose. He tried *an'* he tried; an' at last he made up his min' to sneak out the front door and cut out fur home, shovil an' all. Then he remembered he'd orter licked his thumb, an' he tried that, but it wouldn't go. Just as he got up to tiptoe out, the shovil hangin' on like a partner at a picnic, an' 'bout the time he'd walked half across the room, the blamed thing slipped off'n that licked thumb o' Loge's, an' struck the hard floor like a clap o' young thunder.

Loge he jumped like a trounced frog, an' give one skeered little beller, like a Durham bull with the *hiccups*.

Before the family went in to supper Loge he'd made up his mind, in an' about, as it mus' be Mandy. It appeared 's if that ud be more gratifyin' to his ma, as Mandy seemed turned religious, talkin' o' Methodists an' sech. But when that shovil drapped an' Loge bellered out like he done, an' he heard Miss Mandy come out into the passage an' call out to Jube, the hired man, that big Buck, ole Sid's yaller steer, wuz in her ma's room breakin' up things, Loge say he set it right down to hisse'f *as she* wouldn't do fur a farmer's wife—not knowin', like she done, that steers wouldn't come up into a house an' *desturb* things, not fur nothin'. He say farmer's wives mus' learn better'n that.

So little John say that Loge made choice o' Jinnie. An'

Jinnie she seemed mighty willin', bein' young an' gaily. An' she set her cheer up close to Loge's an' talked mighty polite to him after supper. She tol' him he ought to git married, an' have a wife to look after his socks an' things. An' she axed mighty kind about his ma, an' got it all out o' Loge 'bout his ma want'n' him to wait till he wuz older, an' all that.

An' them two talked on till Miss Mary got up an' went off to bed; an' Mandy went out in the kitchen an' set with ole Aunt Cindy; an' ole Sid an' his wife went sound asleep in the chimbley cornders, an' didn't wake up till the clock wuz strikin' twelve. Then the ole man lit a light an' showed Loge off into the new room, hit being the only spare room in the house, an' hit not finished. As I wuz sayin' the daubing wuzn't all in, nor all the chinkin'; but bein May, an' Loge healthy, the ole man ruminated as that didn't matter much.

But he tol' Loge as he'd better blow out his candle before he undressed if he wuz afeard o' bein' seen through the cracks. An' Loge done it, an' *when* he had done it he couldn't find a cheer to hang his Sunday pantaloons on. He felt all over the room, mighty keeful, but he couldn't find no cheer. He wa'n't goin' to hang them new breeches on the bare floor, that was *mighty* certain. An' he wuz afeard to hang 'em on the foot o' the bed, count o' it bein' low, an' they wuz likely to be rumpled, too, Loge bein' consider'ble of a kicker. So he jest smoothed the pantaloons out keeful an' laid 'em, longways, between two o' the logs o' the house, where the chinkin' ort to a-been. Little John say Loge tol' big Si he felt like it wuz a young baby he wuz layin' by to sleep, he wuz that partic'lar not to wrinkle up his breeches. An' ten minutes after he put 'em there he wuz sound asleep betwixt two o' Miss Mary's best sheets.

It wuz sun up when ole Loge woke up, an' the ole man war callin' him to breakfast. Loge called back he'd be there in a minute, an' he begin to hustle about to dress hisse'f. He reached fur his pantaloons—then he stopped still, like the blame block-head that he is. They wuz gone! clean gone! He searched on the floor, an' he flung off the bed clothes to look there; he got down on his hands an' knees to look *under* the bed. He even tore open Miss Mary's bureau drawer to see if he didn't git up in his sleep an' cram 'em in there. Then he felt down his long legs to see if he mightn't forgot an' kep' 'em on. Naw, sir; nothin there but skin an' bone—bare carcass. He scratched his head an' tried to think; they wuz sho'ly round somewheres; he had jist furgot, in one o' his absent-minded fits, an' laid 'em somewheres. He looked behin' the door, an' on top the wardrobe, an' under the bed again; he pulled all the gals' things out o' the bureau drawers an' shook 'em up piece by piece; he looked in

the slop bucket, an' behin' the washstan'; he raked out the cedar bresh the gals had decorated the fireplace with an' looked there; he stuck his head up the chimblly an' looked there; then he tuk it out again, kivered with soot an' ashes, an' went back to bed, an' give out that he wuz mighty sick, an' would some un please go fur his ma.

An' little John say his ma come over terrectly, but she went home again in a minute; jouncin' up an' down on the swayback sorrel like a house afire. An' little while later she rid over agin with a bundle tied to the side saddle; an' after while ole Loge he watched fur a chance when there wa'n't nobody lookin' to sneak off through the woods an' go home.

He'd made up his mind not to marry *yit*; Jinnie she wuz young, an' could wait a bit.

An' little John say, that later in the day Jinnie she was nosin' about in the yard to see if her rose bushes wuz putt'n' out proper, an' she see the new heifer cow a munchin' mighty contented like, on a little pile o' truck that looked like carpet rags. An' she got a fishin' pole an' fished it up, an' looked at it, laffin' fit to kill, all the time. Then she called to the gals to come there quick; an' when they come says she,—

"Here's what ailed him — here's why he didn't want no breakfast, an' here's why his ma made them *two* trips this mornin'."

Then Miss Mandy she say she'd like to know what that roll o' strings got to do with the clothes bein' all flung out o' the drawer. An' little Jinnie say she reckin ole Loge wuz lookin' to see if he could find anything 'mongst Miss Mary's clothes as would fit him, so's he could come to breakfast.

"Bekase," says she, "these are bound to be his breeches. I know it's breeches, by the buckles; the cow ain't chawed *them* past identifyin'."

Then little Jinnie she laffed mightily, an' tol' the others she a good min' to send the things home with her compliments.

An' the next week I got a bid to the weddin' of Jinnie an' little John.

Yes, sir, ole Loge he went a-courtin'; he tol' big Si, his uncle, an' big Si he tol' little John, his nevvly, an' little John he tol' me.

And the man on the rail fence chuckled, and went on carefully whittling the last of his cedar splinter.

MUNICIPAL REFORM.

ABSTRACTS FROM AUTHORITIES AND WRITERS ON THE
SUBJECT, COMPILED BY THOMAS E. WILL, A. M.

I have always thought that more true force of persuasion might be obtained by rightly choosing and arranging what others have said, than by painfully saying it again in one's own way.—*John Ruskin*. "Fors Clavigera," Vol. I., p. 281.

I. THE SITUATION.

(1) *Characterization*.—Mr. James Bryce speaks of municipal government as "the one conspicuous failure of the United States." Ex-President White asserts that "the city governments of the United States are the worst in Christendom—the most expensive, the most inefficient and the most corrupt" (C. C. C., p. 42). Jefferson regarded our great cities as the "ulcers of the body politic" (N. C., p. 7). John Fiske says of the cities, "We hear them called 'foul sinks of corruption' and 'plague-spots on our body politic.'" Nevertheless, Mr. Fiske thinks this is putting it rather strong.

(2) *The Growth of the City*.—Mr. Fiske, pp. 119, 120, points out the extraordinary growth of the American city within the present century. He says: "At the time of Washington's inauguration to the presidency there were no large cities in the United States. Philadelphia had a population of 42,000, New York had 33,000; Boston, which came next with 18,000, was not yet a city. Then came Baltimore with 13,000, while Brooklyn was a village of 1,600 souls. Now, these five cities have a population of more than 4,000,000, or more than that of the United States in 1789. And consider how rapidly new cities have been added to the list. . . + Chicago, with 4,000 inhabitants in 1840 and at least a million in 1890; or Denver, with its miles of handsome streets and shops, and not one native inhabitant who has reached his thirtieth birthday. Such facts are summed up in the general statement that whereas, in 1790, the population of the United States was scarcely four million, and out of each one hundred inhabitants only three dwelt in cities and the other ninety-seven in rural places; on the other hand, in 1880, when the population was more than fifty millions, out of each one hundred inhabitants twenty-three dwelt in cities and seventy-seven in rural places. Most of this growth has been subsequent to 1840. In 1790 there were 6 towns in the United States that

might be ranked as cities. . . . In 1800 the number was the same. By 1810 the number had risen from 6 to 11; by 1820 it had reached 13; by 1830 this 13 had doubled and become 26; and in 1840 there were 44 cities altogether. The urban population increased from 210,873 in 1800, to 1,453,994 in 1840. But between 1840 and 1880, the number of new cities which came into existence was 242, and the urban population increased to 11,318,547. Nothing like this was ever known before in any part of the world." (See also *Ev. S.*, pp. 159, 162.)

(3) *Complexity in City Government.*—Fiske (pp. 122-23), enumerating the executive department and officers of the city of Boston at the present time, shows the government of the city to be most bewilderingly complex. The people elect three street commissioners, while the mayor, with the concurrence of the aldermen, appoints a superintendent of streets, inspector of buildings, three commissioners each for the fire and health department, four overseers of the poor, a board of nine directors for the management of alms houses, houses of correction, lunatic hospital, etc., a city hospital board of five members, five trustees of the public library, three commissioners each of parks and water works, etc. The mere enumeration of these names fills nearly one and one-half pages.

(4) *The Lack of Responsibility in City Government.*—On pp. 125, 126, Mr. Fiske shows that the ordinary municipal system, "in depriving the mayor of power, deprived him of responsibility and left the responsibility nowhere in particular. In making appointments, the mayor and council would come to some sort of compromise with each other and exchange favors." The author continues, pointing out how this trading and log-rolling enters into the work of the municipal body, vitiating all its results, and this largely for the reason that "There was no responsible head who could be quickly and sharply called to account." (See also *M. G. B.*, p. 2, and *M. G. L.*, pp. 3, 4.)

(5) *Administration by Committees.*—"The custom of administering the city duties through standing committees is one which deserves especial condemnation as the source of maladministration and defective government. These committees comprise all of the members of the city councils, and each committee claims and obtains the general supervision of its own department and is jealous of any limitation or restraint upon its power of its patronage" (*M. G. M.*, p. 17). Fiske (p. 126), referring to the fact that "Committees are inefficient for executive purposes," says, "By the time you have got a group of committees independent of one another and working at cross purposes, you have got Dickens' famous Circumlocution Office, where the great object in life was 'how not to do it.'"

(6) *Municipal Debts.*—Fiske, pp. 120, 121, 127, shows how the rapid growth of the city has resulted in anticipating the wealth of the future by contracting heavy municipal debts. He quotes from Mr. Seth Low that "Very few of our American cities have yet paid in full the cost of their original water works." Members of the city council are afraid to undertake vigorous measures for paying off the city debt lest, by increasing the tax rate, they decrease their own prospects for reelection. Hence the burden is passed on, to settle ultimately on the shoulders of posterity.

(7) *Municipal Dishonesty.*—On p. 129 Fiske refers to the wholesale plunder indulged in by the Tweed ring in New York City. As is well known, the Lexow investigating committee is now bringing to light similar revelations regarding the Croker administration. Mr. William T. Stead, in his chapter 1, part III., of I. C. C. C., entitled "The Boodlers and the Boodled," shows how Chicago has been systematically robbed for years by its city council. He says, "It would have been cheaper for the city of Chicago to have paid every one of her aldermen \$10,000 every year, if by such payment the city could have secured honest service, than to have turned a pack of hungry aldermen loose on the city estate, with a miserable allowance of \$156 a year, but with practically unrestricted liberty to fill their pockets by bartering away the property of the city." Quoting from the *Chicago Record* he shows how aldermanic votes have been regularly sold to the corporations desiring franchises. "Four members of the council receive \$25,000 each; the others receive \$8,000. The official instrumental in securing passage of the measure received \$100,000 in cash and two pieces of property, which he afterward sold for \$111,000. . . . The \$5,000 vote is the high-water mark in the council for the last four years. . . . When it becomes necessary to pass an ordinance over the mayor's veto, the cost is 25 per cent more than usual." On p. 182 Mr. Stead says, "The fact that money does pass is not disputed even by the aldermen themselves." "In a fruitful year," says the *Record*, "the average crooked alderman has made \$15,000 to \$20,000." A lawyer of a railway corporation said, "There are 68 aldermen in the City Council, and 66 of them can be bought. This I know because I have bought them myself" (p. 182). Mr. Stead thinks the percentage of venal aldermen in Chicago is somewhat smaller than this.

The plundering of a city is not all done by the aldermen. Mr. Fiske (p. 134) shows how land speculators have made combinations and besieged city councils until they have driven them into making appropriations to open and improve streets and avenues, involving the city in debt, to the end that these highly respect-

able gentlemen may thrive on the unearned increment in land values. C. G. B., p. 52, says: "The greater schemes of municipal extravagance have ever been pressed most strongly by the holders of larger estates. Municipal corruption, indeed, begins and ends in the improper use of money by those who have it, to bribe those who have it not."

(8) *Whiskey in Politics*.—In N. C., p. 41, Mr. J. H. Rhoades, of New York, says, "One of the great difficulties we all have to contend with in our efforts to bring about reform, is the influence of saloons upon the politics of both, and in fact of all parties." The speaker then goes on to show how drinking habits among the poor are fostered by bad surroundings, unsanitary conditions and lack of society, save at the saloon. On pp. 57, 58 of I. C. C. C., Mr. Stead shows graphically how votes in Chicago were bought with liquor. In New York the saloons, it seems, constitute the local Tammany headquarters.

(9) *The Tyranny of Corporations*.—In N. C., p. 120, Mr. L. S. Rowe, showing how free the city of Berlin is from the dictation of corporations, declares: "Our large cities have become so accustomed to being dominated to a greater or less degree by railway companies, that to find an exception is so strange a sensation as almost to border on the uncanny. . . . It was not necessary to prove to the inhabitants [of Berlin], as if it were a difficult and abstruse problem, that in granting franchises to public transportation companies, valuable rights were being alienated. The German magazines and newspapers did not offer the spectacle of an endless number of articles imploring citizens to take an active interest in their own affairs. This necessity carries with it the most bitter criticism our institutions have had to bear" (p. 121). On p. 189 of I. C. C. C. Mr. Stead says, "I have studied autocracy in Russia and theocracy in Rome, and I must say that nowhere, not even in Russia in the first years of the reaction occasioned by the murder of the late czar, have I struck more abject submission to a more soulless despotism, than that which prevails among the masses of the so-called free American citizens, when they are face to face with the omnipotent power of corporations." "Wealth," he quotes, "has subjugated everything. It has gagged the press, it has bought up the legislature, it has corrupted the judges. Even on the universities it is laying its golden finger. The churches are in its grasp. Go where you will, up and down this country, you will find our citizens paralyzed by a sense of their own impotence. They know the injustice . . . they mutter curses, but they are too cowed to do anything. They have tried so often and been beaten so badly, they have not the heart to try again" (p. 189). Mr. Stead's entire chapter on "The Tyranny of the Assyrian" is a terrible

indictment of the corporations and a sad commentary on the decayed virtue of the descendants of those who once grappled with the mightiest nation on earth, because of its imposition upon them of a paltry tax on tea.

(10) *Taxation in Cities*.—This entire subject has been treated in Professor Ely's work on "Taxation in American Cities." Mr. Rowe, on pp. 118, 119 of N. C., shows how the city of Berlin obtains a large income from its public works and franchises, from a highly developed income tax, from a house and rent tax, and from other sources which American cities have as yet hardly tapped. S. M. G., pp. 11, 12, also gives an account of Berlin's system of taxation. The American system of taxation, on the other hand, seems especially designed to benefit the rich and to oppress the poor. Fisk (pp. 27, 28), shows how the tax on personal property is constantly evaded, and how the rich, to escape their share of taxation, emigrate from Boston before the first of May—assessment day—to the country or to the seaside. Stead, in his chapter entitled "Dives the Tax-Dodger," shows some startling facts taken directly from official sources in Chicago. From his book (p. 211) we copy the following table:—

	Average Assessed Value.	
	Square Mile. (Million Dollars.)	Per Head. (Dollars)
1867	8.1	774
1873	8.5	850
1883	3.6	211
1893	1.3	170

In the light of this table Mr. Stead declares, "At this rate, in another twenty years Chicago would be stone broke and couldn't be sold for a red cent. Yet these figures are all official," and sworn to by the assessors.

Chicago millionaires own horses worth only \$20, and carriages worth \$30, while their daughters play on pianos worth \$150 (p. 213). "While the value of the property in Chicago, if it were correctly assessed, is nearly two thousand millions, the officially assessed value of the whole state of Illinois, including Chicago, is only seven hundred millions" (p. 214). The *Chicago Times* (p. 227) is quoted as stating that "The Chicago system of taxation is a systematized crime against the poor; that for twenty years the burden of taxation has rested upon the poor, and that it is the history of tax-dodging, discrimination, bribing and perjury, written upon every page of the tax books of Cook County," etc. This entire chapter should be a revelation to those who are not familiar with the methods whereby the rich rob the poor.

(11) *The Separation of Municipal and National Politics.*—The consensus of opinion among writers on municipal reform is unanimously to the effect that the confusion of municipal politics with national politics is one prime source of our municipal evils.

(12) *State Interference with Municipal Administration.*—Fiske, pp. 127, 128, shows that because of the tangle into which municipal affairs have fallen, the attempt has been made to fly for refuge to the state legislature; but that by thus sacrificing a measure of home rule the city loses far more than it gains. "A man fresh from his farm on the edge of the Adirondacks, knows nothing about the problems pertaining to electric wires in Broadway or to rapid transit between Harlem and the Battery." Log-rolling naturally follows. The evils of state interference with city affairs are further considered in M. G. B., p. 2; M. G. L., p. 7; C. C. C., p. 43, and N. C., pp. 120, 121. Mr. L. S. Rowe (N. C., p. 121) says, "The doctrine that a municipal corporation is but a subordinate branch of the general governmental power of the state, a doctrine which has been confirmed from the United States Supreme Court downwards, is as false in principle as it is detrimental to progress in its operation." He believes that one reason for the wonderful municipal success attained by Berlin, is that that city has felt that it must work out its own salvation, instead of leaning on some higher legislative authority.

(13) *Restricting the Suffrage to the "Better Classes."*—It is held in certain circles that one chief cause of disorders in the city is to be found in the influx of poor and ignorant. The best writers do not seem to share this view, but hold that the poor and ignorant are far less dangerous than is sometimes believed, while the "better classes" are often more worthy the epithet of "dangerous." (See Fiske, pp. 133-35 and Ev. S., p. 173.) N. C., pp. 40, 41, states, "The most universal testimony of those who work among the poor is to the effect that as a class they are honest, kind, generous and considerate toward each other." M. G. B., pp. 3, 4, quotes Mr. H. C. Lea as follows, "The most dangerous enemies of reform are not the poor men nor the ignorant men, but the men of wealth and position." This because they neglect their political duties, and vote as partisans, if at all. C. C. C., p. 46, quotes: "The great mass of so-called best citizens have no sympathy with local affairs. They want no office . . . they wash their hands of responsibilities." Quoting Mr. Bryce, it adds, "In America, as everywhere else in the world, the commonwealth suffers more from apathy and short-sightedness in the upper classes, who ought to lead, than from ignorance or recklessness in the humbler classes, who are generally ready to follow when they are wisely and patriotically led." (See also pp. 47, 48, and C. G. B., pp. 51, 52). These writers show clearly that

the wealthy and well-to-do cannot escape their responsibility for the condition of municipal affairs by attempting to shoulder the blame upon their less favored fellow-citizens.

For a quite recent statement from a conservative source as to the relatively unimportant part enacted in our modern poverty drama by the "ignorant foreigner," see an article in the June (1894) *Forum* by Mr. E. R. L. Gould.

II. WHAT SHALL WE DO?

(1) *M. G. M.*, pp. 19-21, shows that we must restore the ancient simplicity of our institutions and reestablish popular control. *M. G. B.*, pp. 1, 2, insists that our trouble is due not to the failure of democracy, but to the lack of it; and insists that instead of fearing the people and seeking to fence off the government from them we must trust the people and give them the opportunity to manage their own affairs.

(2) *Not Governmental Forms, but Public Spirit.*—Mr. Fiske, p. 118, and *N. C.*, pp. 112, 113, 114, 116 shows that mere forms of government, mechanically administered, must mean little; but that, as the steam drives the engine, so a righteous public spirit must push forward our municipal work.

(3) *Openness vs. Secrecy, in Legislation.*—*M. G. M.*, p. 17, emphasizes the fact that the success of the New England town meeting was largely due to the free discussion which therein prevailed, and emphasizes the need of this same free and open discussion in our present city legislation.

(4) *Separation of Legislative and Executive Functions.*—The same writer declares (p. 24), "No reform of municipal government in this commonwealth can be satisfactory except one based upon the separation of executive and legislative functions."

(5) *Civil Service Reform in the City.* Mr. Carl Schurz, in a powerful paper in *N. C.*, pp. 123-133, emphasizes the necessity of placing the civil service in the city upon a strictly business basis and holding it there, despite the clamors and machinations of politicians. (See also Edmund Kelly, pp. 104, 108 in *N. C.*; L. S. Rowe, *N. C.*, p. 116; *M. G. M.*, p. 23; and *M. G. B.*, pp. 4, 5.)

(11) *Concentration of Power in the Hands of the Mayor.*—The city of Brooklyn some years ago made a new departure in city government, by concentrating power and the accompanying responsibility in the mayor, and holding him rigidly to the work of conducting properly all of the affairs of the city, from top to bottom, during his entire administration. For an account of this system, which it seems has worked admirably when the right mayor was secured, see chapter 52 in Bryce's "American Commonwealth," by the Hon. Seth Low, formerly mayor of Brooklyn; also *M. G. L.*, entire; *C. C. C.*, pp. 119-21; *M. G. B.*,

pp. 6, 7; Fiske, pp. 124, 125, 130, 131, and Ev. S., p. 169. All of these favor, some emphatically, the system that some who are less acquainted with it designate as "the one-man-power." Obviously since the people simply intrust power for a limited period to the mayor as they do to the president of the United States, or, through him, to the head of a department, there seems little ground for asserting that such a system means a return to autocracy. The power, if abused, can be resumed by the people at the end of the official's term of service.

(12) *The Bicameral System*. — Dr. Janes, pp. 166-69 of Ev. S., as against Messrs. Bryce and Fiske (p. 165), holds that the system of legislation by two chambers, in the city, constitutes "the exception rather than the rule"; that it seems a "superfluous absurdity," and that we may expect it to disappear, to the great advantage of municipal government.

(13) *Enlarging Municipal Functions*. — M. G. B., pp. 8-10, insists that instead of waiting until municipal politics are purified before seeking to extend municipal functions, we should rather seek to purify politics by such an extension of functions. It is stagnant water that becomes foul, while running water purifies itself. Similarly, those governments that have most to do — for example, Birmingham, Glasgow and Berlin — are those that are cleanest and most effective.

(14) *Divorcing Local from National Politics*. — Fiske (p. 135); Ev. S., p. 171; M. G. B., p. 4; C. C. C., pp. 129, 130, and N. C., pp. 105, 107, 114, strongly emphasize the imperative necessity of separating local politics from national politics, once for all. N. C., pp. 145-48, shows that the issues between city and nation are at present widely different; and, pp. 145-50-51, holds that in order to effect such a separation the times of voting should be separated by at least one year.

(15) *Looking after City Officials when once They have been Elected*. — Washington Gladden, pp. 152-56 of N. C., argues well that it is one supreme folly of our present policy to elect officials and then utterly ignore them and their work until the next election day. Such neglect discourages the virtuous official, who is systematically cultivated by the worst elements in society, while it leaves local administration largely in the hands of self-seekers.

(16) *The Relation of the Church to Municipal Reform*. — In N. C., p. 175, Mr. Edwin D. Mead declares: "Almost the whole of Jewish prophecy is politics. . . . I wish that we were not such antiquarians and foreigners in our religion, but could honestly and naturally realize and take to heart that God is the God of America, as well as the God of Israel"; while Rev. James H. Ecob, pp. 177-85 of N. C., makes a splendid plea, that should be

distributed in tract form in every church in Christendom, for the application of religious principles to the affairs of this world.

(17) *Summary of Remedies for Municipal Misgovernment.*—M. G. E., p. 8. First, simplify your administration; secondly, trust the people; thirdly, give the municipality plenty to do, so as to bring the best men to the work; fourthly, keep all the monopolies of service in the hands of the municipality; regard the supply of gas and water and the letting of the use of the streets to tramway companies as very promising sources of revenue; and lastly, use the authority and the influence of the municipality in order to secure advantages in the way of cheap trams, healthy and clean lodgings, baths, wash houses, hospitals, reading rooms, etc., to such an extent at least as, in a given case, private enterprise shows itself inadequate to do what the welfare of the community requires should be done. M. G. B., p. 11, closes an admirable summary of the things to be done with this appeal: "But before all, after all, under all, trust the people. Trust them with an undismayed, invincible trust. Make the people trustworthy by putting more trust in them."

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 S. M. G., is a standard work on what is probably the best governed city in the world.
 Prof. F. H. Hodder's "References on Municipal Government in the United States" will be found of special value to students, since it combines with an extended enumeration of works a brief description of their character.
 C. C. C., by Washington Gladden, is a realistic and racy little volume consisting of papers first appearing in the *Century* maga-

zine. It describes the attempt of certain citizens of Cosmopolises to reform their city government; and in so doing it points out the conspicuous evils found in the modern city, and emphasizes the principles in accordance with which the best thought and experience teach that municipal reform may be attained. For general uses this book is probably the best extant. (The Century Company, New York.)

N. C. In January (25 and 26), 1894, the National Conference for Good City Government was held at Philadelphia. The proceedings of this meeting have been published in full by the Philadelphia Municipal League, together with a "Bibliography of Municipal Government and Reform" covering thirty-nine pages.

I. C. C. C. graphically displays, from intimate knowledge of the facts, some of the most glaring evils of the typical great American city, indicating, at the same time, the path toward the nobler civic ideal. (Laird & Lee, Chicago.)

Fiske's little volume is probably the best textbook on Civil Government in the United States that has yet appeared. Like all of Dr. Fiske's works it displays minute knowledge of facts, together with great philosophic insight and breadth of view.

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HOW TO EFFECT MUNICIPAL REFORM, BY LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN.

In representative governments the executive and the judiciary are but the instruments for carrying out the commands of the legislative department. In the municipality, as in the state and nation, the executive and the judiciary, as a rule, perform their duties fairly well. When a mayor signally fails in the administration of the affairs of a city, the occasion of his failure may usually be traced to defective legislation. Indeed, the most common cause of such bad administration may be found in the attempted exercise of executive powers by the city council.

But the board of aldermen (as, for convenience, we shall hereafter denominate municipal legislatures of every kind, whether composed of one or two branches), even when strictly limited to legislative functions, must from its very nature control and dominate all else. Its power to levy taxes and to make appropriations, taken together, constitutes it the supreme authority. When to these tremendous functions is added the power by ordinance to define the duties of subordinate city officials, to restrain the liberties of private citizens, and to enter into agreements with quasi public corporations, the absolute necessity for a superior class of legislators becomes manifest.

Municipal government is admittedly the *bête noir* of republican institutions. Our unqualified failure in this respect is directly traceable to the composition of the board of aldermen. Its deficiencies are notorious; to enumerate a few of them, without entering into details, will suffice. The tearing up of the streets for sewers, water pipes, gas pipes, paving, street railways and underground wires, is managed with so little of system as to increase the attendant expense and inconvenience enormously. Injustice of taxation; inefficiency in the conduct of the police, sanitary, street cleaning and other departments of city administration find their source or encouragement in the board of aldermen. In dealing with the powerful corporations which make use of the streets for supplying citizens with water, light, transportation, telegraph and telephone service, the city fathers are either outwitted or fall before temptation in the form of direct or indirect bribes. In these various ways a large proportion—approximating in amount to one half—of the revenue wrung from the hard earnings of the people, is wasted by a careless or purposely misdirected expenditure.

Large towns and cities are corporations created to deal with interests which in themselves are of prime importance, and which bear directly and closely upon the welfare of the people. The aldermen constitute a board of directors to conduct the affairs of this municipal corporation of which the people are the stockholders. With few exceptions the several members of this all-important board are selected by a "ring," which may be the city or ward committee of the dominant party, but which oftentimes is less numerous and less representative than that body. When elected, although the members of the board nominally are placed in power by a majority of the stockholders, yet in reality, as they know and feel, their tenure of office depends upon the pleasure of a very few. Of these few, therefore, they become the most humble and obedient servants. Any alderman who so far forgets the conditions of his tacit bargain with his masters as to really try to serve the interests of all the people, will be reminded of his madness when dropped from the ticket at the next election. It is the trimmer, the wise politician but unfaithful director, who makes his future calling and election sure. In this way not only are inferior men chosen by our present system, but they are practically put under bonds not to render the public service of which they are capable. No business corporation could survive, or for a moment acquire public confidence, if directed as are our municipal corporations.

Incompetent and corrupt municipal government is not desired by the people, nor is it due to an incapacity on their part to distinguish between the selfish demagogue and the patriotic states-

man. What but the popular voice has selected from the throng and finally established the reputation of the few great novelists, historians, poets and orators? That the masses have not in like manner chosen the greatest statesmen to fill the highest offices within their gift is due wholly to our clumsy machinery of elections — machinery already antiquated when this nation was founded, and but slightly modified during the century since elapsed.

The means by which it is proposed to remedy the known and admitted evils of municipal government lies in the adoption of some form of proportional representation in the election of boards of aldermen. In the city of Boston, Mass., the board of aldermen is elected upon a general ticket, but no elector is permitted to vote for more than seven of the total number (twelve) comprising the board. In order to change this system into proportional representation, it would only be necessary to strike out of the law the word "seven" and in lieu thereof insert the word "one." With this simple amendment made, it becomes evident that, instead of a plurality of the total number of votes cast being necessary to elect, any one-twelfth of such total, if given to a candidate, would be absolutely sure to secure his election.

To illustrate: —

BALLOT		RESULT	
Candidates	Vote for One	Total Vote	
A		A	5,000
B		B	1,000
C	X	C	7,000
D		D	2,000
E		E	6,000
F		F	4,500
G		G	1,100
H		H	6,100
I		I	11,000
J		J	200
K		K	4,500
L		L	5,100
M		M	7,500
N		N	4,800
O		O	100
P		P	4,100
Q		Q	300
R		R	700

If the above system were in vogue in the city of Boston, of the eighteen candidates named upon the ballot the twelve receiving a larger number of votes than any other candidate would constitute the board of aldermen.

This, the simplest form of proportional representation, is called the "Single Vote," and in many of the states is the only form which can be adopted without first amending the state constitution.

Theoretically, votes not required to elect should be transferred in the final count to other candidates. But, practically, it will be found that such transfer makes much less difference in the result than would be anticipated, and that, when the voters have become accustomed to the new system, no candidate will receive a large surplus. It may safely be assumed, that at the very first trial of the single vote, fewer votes will be wasted than under any existing method.*

Below are given the essential sections of a bill which passed the Rhode Island House of Representatives at its last January session, but was defeated in the Senate:—

It is enacted by the General Assembly as follows:

SECTION 1. The members of the board of aldermen of any city, or of the town council of any town, if elected by ballot, shall be elected upon a general ticket for the entire city or town, and the names shall not be numbered upon the ballots, and one person only shall be voted for by any one elector.

SEC. 2. In counting said ballots the several candidates, to the number authorized by law to be elected, receiving a larger number of votes than any other candidate named on said ballots shall be declared elected.

A consideration of the consequences which must ensue upon the adoption of proportional representation in the election of a board of aldermen leads to the following unavoidable conclusions:—

(1) *The office will seek the man.* With the knowledge that—in the city of Boston, for instance—any one twelfth of the voters can elect an alderman, will arise an effective demand for the nomination as candidates for that board of some of the leading business men and of some of the ablest political economists to be found among her citizens. It will be an easy matter, a labor of love, to secure a sufficient number of signatures of voters to nomination papers to have the names of such men placed upon the official ballot.

(2) *A large vote will be polled voluntarily.* With the conviction that his vote will count, and count for the man of his choice, nearly every elector will be ready to make a sacrifice in order to attend the polls. Enthusiasm, either for some candidate or for the issue which he represents, will make it difficult to keep voters at home; and all talk about compelling the exercise of the franchise will cease.

(3) *Election expenses will be reduced to a minimum.* It is not uncommon for a candidate for alderman to contribute his salary, and often a much larger sum, to the "legitimate" expenses of the

* In counting 3,824 votes cast at her meetings in Australia for twelve prominent citizens, Miss Spence found that no candidate received a large surplus, and that a transfer of votes made no difference whatsoever in the result—the same six candidates being elected in either case.

election. But under the proposed system a popular candidate will find no necessity of paying for workers at the polls, for the conveyance of indifferent voters, or wages for their loss of time. Without the expenditure of a single penny his election will be assured.

(4) *Bribery will be at a discount.* Bribery now exists because a vote is worth more to the candidate than to its possessor. The former frequently values it at five dollars, the latter at a mere trifle. The true remedy for corruption is to reverse this state of affairs. In olden time an individual, when carrying great wealth about his person, had it in the form of gold or precious stones. The necessary result was a frequent loss of both estate and life. But under modern conditions there may be carried in one's pocket a check, which to the owner is of enormous value, but to all others worthless. Just so proportional representation will render the ballot precious to him who casts it, but of no money value to a candidate. True, some corruptionist may at first try to purchase enough votes to secure his election. But, if successful, the cause of his success will become known to the public, and at future elections honest voters will desert him to such an extent that, in order to win, he will be forced to buy his entire quota. This course he will find exceedingly expensive and entirely profitless, since, as a known corruptionist, his influence upon the board will be *nil*.

(5) *The most competent citizens will consent to serve.* Under existing circumstances, to receive a nomination, coming as it does by grace of "the machine," is humiliating in the extreme. Acceptance of the honor (?) is accompanied by conditions which hamper and degrade. All this will become a thing of the past. A candidate will be wholly untrammelled, and, if well qualified, will be reelected so long as he consents to serve. If in his independence he offends a portion of those voters who originally elected him, he will at the same time win the approval and support of enough others to make good the defection. In fine, under the new conditions, each member of the board will be enabled to do his duty without fear or favor; will even dare change his views in response to convincing argument. He may distinguish himself as aggressively honest, may expose jobs and guard the city treasury, and thereby insure, instead of blast, his future career.

(6) *The board of aldermen will be non-partisan.* When in any city a small fraction of the total number of voters—as we have shown, one twelfth only in Boston—can nominate and elect an alderman, it will become impossible to secure a partisan majority upon the board. In fact, it is probable that, after a few years' trial of the new system, not one Republican or Democrat,

as such, can be chosen. Taxation, economy of expenditure, distribution of appropriations, control of franchises and other local issues will become the determining factors in the selection of aldermen.

(7) *No corrupt element will be able to control the board.* Under present methods the floating vote, which too often is a selfish and corrupt vote, can, on the day of election, turn the scales to either side. Having the power to determine the success or failure of every member of the board, the candidates to whom it gives the victory must obey its behests. Under proportional representation, the most that this self-seeking element can accomplish will be to elect one alderman, who, as the chosen representative of the corrupt, will be shunned and tabooed by his fellow-members.

(8) *Minorities will be given due influence.* In the choice of a mayor or other executive officer the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes necessarily wins; and minorities, whether large or small, must lose. But in the election of a board composed of a number of equal members, every minority sufficiently numerous may and should be represented in its make-up. In the city of Boston — to continue this convenient illustration — every body of voters amounting in number to one twelfth of the total electorate, ought to be given the power to elect one alderman. It is not only equitable, but highly expedient, that so considerable a proportion of the whole, being desirous of working together for a special object in city affairs, should be given a voice and a vote in the local legislature. Improvements take their rise among the few, and under present conditions are excluded far too long from making their due impress upon, or even getting a fair hearing from, the body which in theory represents all the people.

(9) *The people will have full confidence in the board.* Since the board will reflect as many different sets of opinions as it contains members, instead of two (Republican and Democratic) as now, its action will represent very perfectly the enlightened views of all the citizens. In its votes the people will speak — and not a majority of a majority, which oftentimes is but a minority of the whole. The increasingly important duties which devolve upon the municipal legislature will be so well performed as to command the admiration rather than the contempt of the constituency. The apprehension now expressed when the board of aldermen is in session will be succeeded by a sense of satisfaction and security similar to that felt by the stockholders in a well-managed corporation when its directors confer.

Guizot has well said: "The sole object of the representative system is to discover and concentrate the natural and real supe-

riorities of the country in order to apply them to its government." Present methods of electing municipal councils have failed signally in finding and retaining the best qualified citizens. The system of proportional representation will secure the realization of Guizot's ideal.

The Union for Practical Progress has selected as two of its topics for consideration during the present year, "Municipal Reform" and "Political Corruption." In view of the revelations made by the Lexow Committee in New York City, is it possible for a local union to do any work upon the subjects named so effective as to reform its city legislature? Some members of the Union may at first thought deem proportional representation too political — directed too much to the intellect, appealing too little to the heart. They would prefer, perhaps, to give their energies at once to the abolition of the saloon or the brothel or the slums. But it must not be forgotten that these evils can be reached only through the city government; that they have attained their present portentous magnitude because of the failure of city officials to do their duty; and that their permanent removal is impossible, save through the permanent uplifting of the city authorities.

Municipal reform, like the other subjects recommended by the National Executive Committee of the Union for presentation in the various cities of the country, is admitted by all good citizens urgently to demand both attention and action. But whilst such practical unanimity exists as to the end sought, concerning the means of attaining that end there is much diversity of opinion. Therefore, before a Union enlists its forces in any great local reform, it must examine, discuss and unite upon the best method of procedure.

Experience shows that proportional representation, when understood, receives the unqualified approval of nineteen out of every twenty persons, unbiased by selfish motives, to whom its workings are explained. That noble Australian woman, Miss Catherine Spence, is wholly right in taking as her life work the exposition of effective voting as the one known agency for improving the quality of legislative bodies. This in reality is the great philanthropy, because, when accomplished, the longest possible step will have been taken towards uprooting of the social evils which threaten our modern civilization.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

ON CERTAIN SATISFACTIONS OF PREJUDICE.

OVER a cup of tea and the evening paper I am constantly informed by the delightful old lady, who sits at the end of the board and gravely and quietly replenishes my cup without any demur until the limit of five cups is reached, when neither prayers, threats nor entreaties will induce her to pour out another drop, that I am a person of violent antipathies and prejudices. When I attempt to remonstrate and clear myself of this dreadful charge, by explaining that any splenetic explosions in which I may occasionally indulge at the table are imbued with the high moral purpose of shaking the company out of their immoral apathy, I only make matters worse. As the lady absolutely refuses to read anything more exciting than Paley's "Moral Philosophy," I cannot convince her of the wanton wickedness of her contemporaries, especially such of them as write in the newspapers; and I pen this, I hope scientific, analysis of that cerebral irritation which is called prejudice under this roof, and a glimpse of the subject of prejudice in general, in the hope that discussion of the paper over the tea table will lift a gloom from my social character that has rested upon it in Miss Paulina Pinckney's mind these many years.

At the other end of the table (years of happy and memorable tea-table strife have given me the place of honor at her right hand, formerly occupied by a famous psychologist possessed with a strong intellectual partiality for criminals), there sits a young man who manufactures what is called editorial opinion for the *Sentinel*, and our prim but tender-hearted hostess declares that a malicious curiosity once prompted her to read that valuable organ of opinion, but respect for her lodger prevailed over her worse instincts; for, truth to tell, the young man is really quite ordinarily behaved and, up to this time of writing, has never been discovered at anybody's keyhole or under anybody's bed or concealed in anybody's clothes closet. Miss Paulina has him under constant surveillance, though, in spite of her scruples of conscience, and she had grave doubts about allowing the associate of criminals to have a latch key. She believes he has a hand in every murder mystery that gets into the air. She is convinced the newspaper press is the invention of the Devil, and will not give it any of her countenance. I am not orthodox, but I share Miss Paulina's conviction. I most sincerely uphold the good lady's resolution in abjuring the *Sentinel*, and I think it reflects great credit upon her character. And then I know that not everybody in this world can suffer to have their illusions comparatively examined, and

cheerfully feel that they are gainers; as they actually are, since added to their original stock of illusions, they acquire a knowledge of realities. It is certainly better for the manufacturer of editorial opinion that Miss Paulina extends to him this dubious charity, for if he is responsible for any of the *Sentinel's* opinions he is to be pitied for enjoying so much of his own society.

The young man himself, however, smiles whimsically at my occasional explosions of splenetic disgust. He has, in fact, some humor and discrimination, and he never reads the *Sentinel*. Now I do, because the doctor tells me exercise is good for my liver, and I think it stirs me up a bit to damn the *Sentinel* now and then. I know the *Sentinel* man is not hurt, for he really has so much appreciation of good literature that his table is piled high with the spoil of my bookshelves; and besides, he knows I too have been a brigand, and a mutual antipathy has drawn us together. But our good gray landlady belongs to a more sober and strenuous time; there is a good deal of the old Puritan conscience in her; and she cannot understand that our journalistic friend experiences a strange joy in bearing all possible odium for a trade he loathes, but being a canny, cautious soul, dares not damn with my whole-souled ardor.

It is because I permit myself the fullest satisfaction of my antipathies that I am able to get along with fewer distractions than most of my less prodigal associates, who have to be penurious of their true opinions to provide for the indulgence of their luxurious tastes. For this reason, my good landlady sometimes suspects me of hypocrisy. She contrasts my general opinions, which are tolerant enough, with my ebullitions on certain subjects — undertaken sometimes for the sake of getting rid of an honest opinion and sometimes for my liver — of which, on paper, I am quite prepared to see both sides, but over the tea table, to pleasure myself, will only see one, and she cannot reconcile my ideas on hygiene with her beautiful belief in the practicability of the Beatitudes.

I have sometimes tried to explain to the good lady, that, it being admitted, as it must be admitted, that every man having so much original sin, a good stock of vigorous abstract prejudices is essential to afford any room for the development of a few virtues. She does not follow my reasoning, and I honestly believe she harbors a dread suspicion that a sixth cup of tea any evening might excite me to the commission of some awful atrocity — perhaps the murder of the editorial opinion-maker of the *Sentinel*.

The fact is my prejudices afford me my greatest relaxation, a good heated, unsparing tea-table argument, in which I conceive there is no excitement or stimulant unless one is notoriously on the wrong side, with some cherished prejudices in peril to warm one up for the strife, and make defeat more glorious than any cold-blooded victory of mere logic. A man who does not possess certain well recognized and very dear prejudices, for which he will fight against a whole roomful of

bloodthirsty opponents, is in very great danger in more serious crises of not being aware of certain congenital errors of mind, which are perfectly familiar to his friends ; and not only that, but does any one believe such a man would run any risk for the maintenance of any moral conviction whatsoever ? Such a man is too lukewarm and cautious to love the truth. It may seem paradoxical, but to always prefer logic to a good wholesome prejudice is enough to make one suspect such a man would not stick at perjury. This is one of the advantages of acquiring a sympathetic acquaintance with the whole range of one's prejudices.

But the most cogent argument for a due recognition of them in one's social life is that they are really more sociable and loquacious than logic and reason, which are often uncharitable and brutal, if not cold and glum. And to recognize one's prejudices also argues the possession of a logical faculty of some utility, for the half of education is to be able to sift the most palpable errors out of one's knowledge, and live within one's intellectual income without any dangerous pretension, making such of one's errors and prejudices as have any attribute of picturesqueness about them, serve some innocent social purpose, so that in every society one need not become absolutely bankrupt in twenty-four hours.

Behind my evening paper, and in the middle of my fourth cup of Oolong, I would consider it unsocial and, if the term may be allowed, pedantic, to suddenly get becalmed in some unescapably logical conclusion, when all the rest of the company was unbent and familiar, and when I could perhaps add to the general gaiety, as well as exhilarate my sluggish pulse, by waging a passionate battle for some good old antiquated prejudice, probably inherited from a great grandfather addicted to snuffing and proverbial philosophy. My only relapses into purely unexceptionable rational moods at the tea table, occur when I see the bottom of my fifth cup, and all my logic rises for a futile appeal to that implacable moralist, who does not hesitate to avow her conviction that a drop over my allowance would precipitate me upon a literary career of corrupting the young. I hope this consideration has due weight with me — but I confess to a strong prejudice concerning this literary tenderness for the young.

I have in this way developed a sort of intellectual incredulity, which, while making me tender toward my prejudices, keeps me from becoming arrogant over my reasoned opinions. The knowledge of how very specious and satisfactory the one may be, saves me from being over credulous about the others. I sometimes suspect, too, that some of the finest webs of logic are spun to uphold the most fantastic and palpable sophistries; and so in the passionate championing of my prejudices, I honestly think that I have acquired a portion of that humility which will cling to its heart and soul convictions in spite of contumely and persecution. This indulgent incredulity in regard to the credulousness of my nature, which would fain turn some of these hopes into facts, gives me a sort of humorous interest in those very facts which would come very harshly

upon me but for this appreciation of the true nature of my illusions. I grant I have some prejudices against the facts, in a good many instances, but being undeceived about my own prejudices, which have much greater claims upon my regard, I mitigate something of their harshness by not attaching to them quite so much importance as some more equable and more credulous persons do.

Thus while the more matter-of-fact of my friends have forfeited all their illusions before reaching the age of thirty, I hope to retain a sufficiently large number of amusing prejudices to exercise and keep me in humor for a lifetime; and that without becoming seriously a victim of my own illusions. So my incredulity, being of a slow and native growth — it was of almost unconscious development until my plunge into the study of psychology — has not destroyed and deprived me of the advantages of any prejudices that a kind Providence and the concomitance of education and early surroundings ordained should be mine as contributory to my social happiness; but it has maintained an equilibrium between the real world and the world of my illusions, which I cannot but think has not only been of material benefit to me in my earthly pilgrimage, but has afforded me much innocent mirth at my own expense, when I was too desperately poor to indulge in laughter at anybody else's. And truly the man who cannot laugh heartily at the unescapable discrepancy between his conscience and his inclinations, who cannot perceive the ludicrousness of his grave and sober part, be it what it may, in this great farce of a world, cannot have much charity for those who, either from indolence or natural unfitness, or an excess of philosophic temperament, fail to get anything out of the scramble but hard knocks.

Here is the advantage of boldly acknowledging one's prejudices to oneself (not to the indiscriminating who judge men upon their small talk and small change): it gives one a juster conception of the extent of one's capital ideas and knowledge, and leaves illusions more or less separate and distinct for the safe employment of one's hours of relaxation. Even if one has to abandon some of one's most sober and complacent parts of knowledge in this process of sifting, in the certain gain of prejudices one must increase in both knowledge and tolerance. And through the practice of this discrimination and economy, one can put both one's knowledge and one's prejudices out at interest, and win men's good opinion in business and in social life, without being compelled to do them so much injury as men do who obey their prejudices from greed or ambition without any system or comprehension. I think most people have no idea of the social utility of a good stock of prejudices. In the agreeable strife of the tea table one can really be much wittier in defence of one's most monstrous prejudices than in the calm and sober attempt to gain a hearing for really substantial and rational opinions on church and state. But then I have a theory that no man or woman entirely lacking in wit and humor should dare to nourish any prejudices — or if they must, they should only do so in a monastic silence and secrecy. Those

of us who enjoy the advantage of the society of witty women know how much their prejudices contribute to their charm and brilliancy. Thus by informing myself upon my pet credulities, I have not merely not shattered my illusions, but I have acquired some sympathy for the flattering prejudices of others. At the same time I am wary and cautious, and I enjoy the luxury of cherishing my prejudices without becoming the spoil of my enemies. The man who confuses his prejudices with his moral or immoral convictions is apt either to be a petty tyrant, or the prey of all those large souls who fatten upon others' moral convictions, but with such incorruptible consciences that they fear no contamination.

For instance, I have a prejudice against the Calvinistic theory of total depravity, although my reason, appalled with the facts, rebels; but strong and persistent as is the prejudice, my mental habit of final dubiousness preserves me in the imminent peril of a fatal delusion, that might unfit me for the social state into which I was most unexpectedly born. I have, luckily, sufficient tolerance for worldly wisdom to save me from allowing what may only be a most ungrounded prejudice to precipitate me into any dangerous sapieney of philanthropy, that, in all probability, would quickly land me in the fearful quagmire of being helplessly dependent upon the chance of the same delusion seizing upon others; and introspection has convinced me that any real love and tenderness is a quality or condition of mind which is daily menaced with too many ugly realities to be at all stable and constant. The one compensation for this fact is that the greatest charity is tolerance in all matters of social and philosophic opinion, which only attracts the best and finest natures, and has no fascination for those wasps of humanity that embarrass and prey upon all philanthropy but that which invariably suggests itself to the mind in inverted commas—in the secure keeping of shrewd managers of "charity" organizations. All other so-called practical charity that has not this salt of heroic fundamental sanity and justice is the most villainous of mummeries. It demands higher qualities to declare justice in spite of all "respectable" opinion than to give mere money or bricks. "But money is a good soldier, sir, and will on."

Thus I cannot escape the conviction (although I should like to, as I must oppose conscience when it pricks me to acknowledge an obligation which may seem to more positive minds a vice) that in this one respect I have been somewhat exceptionally fortunate; for though I have many friends and a wide circle of acquaintances, and, as far as my knowledge goes, but few of them are in such destitute circumstances as to be wholly lacking in prejudices, I do not think many of them experience any genuine thrill of pleasure when the certainty is borne in upon them—if that ever happens—that some of their most tenaciously held opinions are in indubitable opposition to facts. It may be scouted as an unreasonable opinion, but half the

pleasure of possessing fantastic prejudices consists in being unescapably convicted of error at the end of an argument; for in this conviction is a delicate tribute to one's power of logical construction even with admitted disabilities. I cannot help reflecting, although in this connection it may sound ominously like self complacency, that men with such cold sympathies that they will not boldly father their prejudices must ever shut out of their minds either something of error or of truth; and it seems to me our capacities as well as our opportunities for obtaining innocent pleasures in this sad old world, are not sufficiently great to justify a prudent man in practising such penury and inhospitality.

I maintain that the man who cannot and dare not admit that the other party to an argument—I am excluding politics, economics and all sober questions but philosophy, which affords the most magnificent opportunities to fantastical souls—has the preponderance of evidence and facts, and still cling courageously to his more picturesque or more agreeable prejudices, is sadly lacking in moral stamina, and is not of that stuff out of which heroes and martyrs are made. If one can only manage it, there is something more comforting in the conviction of infant damnation or the eternal torments of those pagans who do not share our theological fiddle-de-dee than in all the chilly assurances of mere reason. But on the other hand, in a charity that includes dreadful errors of all sorts you have all the real moral progress of civilization, the measure of every man—tolerance of opinion, which surely, to escape all possible charges of hypocrisy and invidious distinctions, must include charity to self. We should reconcile ourselves to our errors with the thought that, granting all the great beacons of the ages, a perfectly balanced mind does not exist. There is some fatal fixity of ideas in even the greatest minds, that must exclude much sanity. Besides, a great deal of modern sober inquiry is being directed to a reëxamination of ancient misses at truth.

In considering prejudices in a broad and tolerant spirit, and the satisfactions it is possible to derive from them, one should certainly turn to Sir Thomas Browne. As the author of a most learned work on "Vulgar Errors," and the "Religio Medici," he has won the good will of a posterity of bookish men through the possession of a goodly share of the most delicious whimsies and prejudices. It will be remembered that he was concerned with Sir Matthew Hale in the burning of witches, a fact which, while I try to cherish the most humane sentiments, I cannot but think contributes something to my delight in his opinions. "The extreme age of an opinion seemed to him to be some warrant for its truth"; and this tendency of mind opened up a field of sober humor and fine-spun disputations in these philosophic meditations on life and destiny and faith and death, more rich in suggestive error and flashes of illuminative truth, proving some unprovable hypothesis, than one can find in any body of fantastical speculation within the same compass in the whole range of English literature. But of course the "Religio Medici" is alone in its kind.

If one is of Sir Thomas Browne's way of thinking that "It is too late to be ambitious," then one can all the more cheerfully congratulate oneself upon a store of robust prejudices for companionship in the swift changing years, and the isolation of one's age. Even the best of wives is not so constant as a well-grounded prejudice; and sons and daughters notoriously grow from short frocks into indifference, and ultimately know only our whimsies and not us. If we can but learn to recognize our prejudices we are saved from loneliness. It is improbable, however, that many can endure to live in such a penury of complacency, to put the matter on no higher grounds, and so the unwisdom of ambition in this late day will probably never shame a newly-reached majority out of its beady cups; and in this, as in most other things, Nature conspires against reason. But there can surely be no better admonition than Sir Thomas Browne's to those who, being blessed with the most happy prejudices, are so ill-advised and so injudicious as to poison their happiness and contentment with a mad desire to propagate them. These gifts from Providence or the Devil should be their own reward; it is prodigal to squander them in the reckless gambling of vanity. Browne says, "Those have not only depraved understandings, but diseased affections, which cannot enjoy a singularity without a heresy, or be the author of an opinion without they be of a sect also."

There is a goodly number of most delightful writers (though the most of them lie in the cemeteries) who scorn to use the arts of the politician and of the multitude of scribblers, only happy in some larger shadow than their own, who still hope to get a currency upon the popular tongue by combatting and banning in a grandeur of fantastic and isolated opinion all those popular notions that good, respectable men inherit and apparently carry in their pockets (for they do not truly concern their heads), as good Catholics carry their rosaries. The danger for some of these men is that when they finally become aware of the desperately unintelligent and irrelevant character of a great deal of "wisdom," they are apt to become slothfully content with a scepticism of mere wit. That is not the worst of it with men who lack wit. A prejudice without wit is the Devil with gout — all prescriptions fail to meet the case. With the progress of time some of the finest fantastic spirits not infrequently seem to abdicate reason altogether for the indulgence of their prejudices, because they consider the former to be too common among men, while the latter, in their very vigor and hardness, and the opposition and clamor they sometimes provoke, give their possessors a peculiar sense of innate originality. Perhaps, with all the mountains of literature behind us, all the originality possible for us moderns lies in our prejudices. In reading some of my contemporaries I think this must be so. The persons just alluded to would rather be removed, even through the very preposterousness of their errors, from the ordinary mass of men, than be lost in the miry darkness of some general opinion of "common sense," which philosophy tells them — and herein is some

justification to balance, if not to top, their vanity — may be proved, a generation or so hence, to be quite as unsubstantial, though without any redeeming quality of picturesqueness.

The great majority of men are easily seduced from their native thoughts by the ambition to rise in some party or win popular applause, and to achieve this success they have to concur in prejudices whose nativity could scarcely recommend them to noble minds. There are other men who, in the uncertainty of knowledge, are, above all, desirous of maintaining some sort of intellectual integrity, and they naturally reject all those monstrous popular prejudices, stamped with the "judicial authority," as having no avowed and decent parentage, which would give some clue to nature, as an honest individual prejudice sometimes does; these hold their own prejudices on probation, as being perhaps after all scarcely less dubious than much of the wisdom of theology and politics and moral and other philosophy. The average minds, of course, do not understand them, and mediocrities without a peck more of reason and with a destitution of wit, laugh them to scorn; for the majority of men are lacking in the vigor of mind necessary to the creation, by illogical thinking, of a lusty native prejudice, and their opinions, like their prayers, are made for them. The masses, whose sole thinking is the morning's hot politics, are in a revolt against any communism of bread and meat, for political economists have shown them the brazen and wicked folly of assuming that these things were intended by Nature to supply her own turbulent claims in empty stomachs; but they are nevertheless for the most part divided in their opinions and their morals more as clamorous, unthinking communes than as individuals, and only a few heretics outside the communes know where the mechanism of all these staid opinions is to be found, and what and whose purposes it serves. The masses of men do not think except through the symbols provided for them. It is no reproach to them, for their bellies are in pawn to a conspiracy against the welfare of the race. One cannot but think that perhaps if all men clung courageously to their prejudices we might enjoy a greater sanity of public opinion than we do in the universal adoration of the "judicial character"; and in all the realistic concerns of life we would possibly gain in tenderness and charity.

These few heretical writers who glory in their native prejudices, but unfortunately too often lose, in the battle of opinions, a wholesome and necessary sub-conscious scepticism about them, are often nearer to Nature in emptying their minds without hypocrisy, than the majority of writers who pay more court to judicial ignorance than they do to the acquisition of knowledge. And moreover they are, if one reads them in the right spirit, more amusing than some other graver and less erratic writers. We do not go to them when we are lost in the mazes of life, but for an after-dinner pill they are amazingly good homœopathists. And they serve at least one purpose; they are the nipping east wind of all that good, "respectable" opinion that sets one's teeth on edge.

They wage war upon all wicked self complacency — but their own; and, of course, we can only expect a philosophy that would include the latter from very rare humorists indeed. Nor would such be likely to take their prejudices with so much of seriousness as the sort of persons I have in mind. Job had this inclusive quality of wisdom, but he could scarcely have derived the same amount of pleasure from his prejudices as the modern writers I am hinting at, whose ambition is not prophecy or exhortation, but the sort of heresy which inspires as much amiable mirth as anger. Like all schismatics it is only their wit saves them from being bigots. It is the lack of wit that makes all sorts and conditions of orthodox folk so desperately dull. How can one be witty in a world about which one has made up one's mind once and forever? Each day must bring the most unendurable monotony to the orthodox who never fear any doubts lurking round the corner.

But the great peril of men of this fine fanatic temperament is that they often grow tired of the isolated grandeur of amusing the dull with paradoxes too subtle for comprehension at a glance, and not grave enough to interest the wise who have learned to suspect their vanities, and resolve to put their paradoxes into a system. From being too erratic to long occupy any one province of thought they settle down into a persistence of contradiction that is often finally disastrous to their wit. Some petty accident, or a new and sudden influence at the critical period of life, throws them from incertitude, expressed in genially held prejudices, into a fury of positivism, and they seek to turn what was an amiable and amusing folly, in the consideration of men of discernment, into the alarming form of "a school" of folly. This gives an edge to the pointless ribaldry of the dull, who cannot appreciate a quip for its own sake, and have no sense of the sobriety of true humor; the sort of plaguy villains who drive a rational, thinking being mad in twenty-four hours' enforced society with their coagulated nonsense and utterly unreasonable "common sense." And yet perhaps in a world of fine wits it might be possible and not so menacing to see the prosperity of all sorts of fantastic "schools" — just for the quip's sake; but in a stupid "common sense" world we can hope for no such mitigation of our evil state. The old philosophy of laughter seems to have gone out of fashion. Therefore we must warn Launcelot, in the words of Sir Thomas Browne, against the perils of this adventure. So long as the world is wedded to common sense it cannot contain much philosophy, or be a very comfortable place for those whose opinions cannot find an echo at every fish wife's basket in the market place.

An old prejudice is like an old friend. We see it often in reason's stuffy police court, and hearing that dread sentence passed upon it by judge and jury, we may in very shame abjure it; but it will as likely as not turn up again, and again be welcomed and pressed into the breach in some tea-table battle. And then, too, the introspectively-minded man, who has something like an illustrated biography of his mind since child-

hood's earliest memories, knows that there is some difference in prejudices. The latest prejudice, created by some newspaper report, some chance word, some jar to one's interests, cannot hold its own with one of those prejudices that have persisted from childhood. An old prejudice will flare up under a hint of the old excitement in the sunset of life, when all the other prejudices have long faded out of mind. The passing fickle prejudices may have laid waste a world, but at the end of life they shrink into insignificance. The only prejudices that linger then are those old ones that used to set the table in a roar — one's congenital, childish prejudices. The "broad minded" man often has just as many prejudices as the old foggy — and one of them is a prejudice against the idea of their universal distribution. As a man prospers, many of his widening interests in what appears to him to be a larger social world are but new prejudices: thus a man gets the slang of clubs, the *patois* of "society," the "wisdom" of moneyed men, the narrow cant of schools of ethics supported and encouraged by the idle and fashionable classes, and he feels that life is growing richer and richer for him. In reality the process is reversed. In a continual surrender of his own native habits of thought he is growing poorer and poorer.

But ten new prejudices cannot produce that satisfaction which makes one grapple the lifelong companion to one's soul with hooks of steel. The old prejudice may cause less concern than a new one, but it confers more responsibility, and it is necessary to exercise more energy and feeling to protect it. Some of the lighter prejudices of social exigency but need some mishap in a bargain, some change of fortunes or some accidental acquaintance or book to disturb them; they come and go and are scattered with the beady philosophy of life that gave them sanction. But one's radically inherent prejudices are not so much the creation of hope and vanity and pride, as mysterious and oftentimes wise and tender admonitors of the conscience, warning it, in spite of all judicial authority, experience, worldly precepts and example, all respectable opinion, to cling to something of the old unquestioning pity and mercy and charity. Let pride drive on with its superior airs, as it throws a silver coin with scarcely a glance to the beggar on the highway; old prejudice, which cares not for social opinion and laughs at it, turns out of the road into the path and sits down to loafe and chat with a human being. That is prejudice of the right sort. Pride is but prejudice; but how often those who have known misery in youth think it necessary to rob Chance of her part of their prosperity to bolster up their vanity. But the wiser man thanks the goddess of Chance, who may strip him and his at the eleventh hour, and clings to the old prejudice that in youth warned, that to love some men merely for their abilities and capacities, and to despise others for their lack of them, was simply to alternately fawn upon and spurn Mother Nature, who is indifferent to our love or hate. The pride that shuns and scoffs at the simple merely denies itself an acquaintance with one of the most toler-

able and sometimes tender of Nature's aspects. A good sceptical prejudice against the pretensions of all human wisdom will counteract this temptation to live in an atmosphere of chill complacency; it is because the wise are so seldom deceived with their wisdom that we so frequently find them, as we read their biographies, sitting on the benches in the alehouses listening to the talk of the simple. The old prejudice of youth against the authority that would narrow and pen up its heaven and earth is a true instinct; we are wisest in the untroubled paganism of childhood, when we do not doubt that all wonder and beauty and mystery is part of our inheritance; and that man is wisest who can cling, in the clash of new prejudices, to the old prejudice so closely woven into the old illusions and enthusiasms of youth. In outgrowing the latter, if one can but cling to the prejudice one is preserving something also of the faith of childhood.

It was ignorance that dreamed of heaven and fairyland; though it was cunning that threw wide open the gates and gave the poor heaven forever while it seized upon earth. But while the mass of us have always been tenants at will upon earth, under most tyrannous sub-landlords, we have never been formally dispossessed of heaven — although a good many of us are a little anxious to obtain some more secure title to a share of the earth and its fruits, since we cannot bring heaven to earth. But we are told we have arrived too late — the earth and its benefits were divided up about a thousand years ago, and only heaven is left to us; and so perhaps after all we owe more to ignorance than we do to wisdom. Some of us have a prejudice against this apportionment of heaven and earth, and especially as we are menaced with a new peril; we see the temples raised on every hand in which Plutus, invoking all the wondrous wisdom of priestcraft, is trying to placate our God and get into heaven. Since wisdom has made us so incontrovertibly superfluous on God's earth, where all the authority and learning shows our error in coming a thousand years late, what sort of guarantee have we that we may not yet be dispossessed of heaven by the same weight of judicial authority?

Ah, but heaven is God's domain, says the gentleman in cassock and gown. Of course, sir, but whose is the earth? Is not that God's, too? We have a prejudice against the weighty authority which has dispossessed us here and made us trespassers whichever way we turn; and since one of the most learned of the white-choker profession, a certain Dr. Malthus, announced that we were born too late, that there were no plates laid for us at Nature's banquet, that we had no right to persist in an existence conferred upon us by accident and should betake ourselves off this planet, we have a prejudice against you torch bearers who may be luring us, like Cornwall wreckers, to our destruction. We hear you declaiming a strange "Christian" gospel to our taskmasters that sounds familiarly like their fantastic political economy, and we openly suspect you of a collusion to shut us out of heaven itself. I am sorely afraid we shall find Plutus in possession, and shall doubtless be told by Dr. Malthus:

"Too late, too late; everything was apportioned a thousand years ago. There are no more places at the banquet here." Ah, yes, we must confess to a sad prejudice against you soft-pawed, white-choker creature, for since we cannot reverse the law of gravitation, you have greatly helped to make it sorely difficult for us to breathe anywhere without some guilty trespass.

It may be indeed no idle fancy that we are too late to dream of heaven, since wisdom claims to hold its golden keys; but there are pagan joys still left to us in fairyland, and let us as long as possible cling to these with a tender prejudice. Learning has given us little happiness; let ignorance disclose the reason, though it comes to the block for so doing—it is almost entirely oblivious of wisdom, which does not need so many granaries, but only eyes and hearts. Ignorance in giving us fairyland has made us some compensation for the world it has shut us out of. We can only preserve it by cherishing our prejudices. Once let us admit to ourselves the dreadful deception of our prejudices, and in this too crowded world we are desolate indeed—companionless, and without a single illusion, the prey of a despair that admits of none of that community of woe that makes those, upon whose bounty we cringe, willing to endure the thought of the possibility of sharing heaven with us. For Plutus too has his ills—ennui, satiety, gout and Bright's disease. And then what treasures can exorcise doubt? It pursues us all, rich or poor. But if it be true that Charon expects no more from Alexander than from Lazarus, we may perhaps indulge the prejudice that our white-choker brethren are far too wise to escape their due proportion of error, and so we may still find consolation in the hope that, if there is any after life, the Almighty will waive any consideration of our prejudice against Dr. Malthus and the rest, upon the ground of justification. We surely pay dearly enough in this world for our error of coming into it; and our obstinacy in remaining, in spite of all the disabilities, has in it, to my mind, something of heroism. We remain because we have a prejudice against God's vicegerents, the rightful owners; and there really is some satisfaction in the thought that while wisdom may harass and pinch and starve us, it cannot exorcise us—it cannot reverse the law of gravitation in our special behoof.

Our minor prejudices are too numerous for anything like adequate enumeration, and, since they increase with their satisfaction, they cannot be touched by mathematics. They are woven into the texture of all theology, philosophy, history, literature—everything. It was probably to some congenital prejudice in John Calvin that we owe the five cardinal points of Calvinism, which my prejudices would sometimes have true, and at other times clamor against. But Calvin's bilious eye gave posterity something to wax witty over—and that is enough of achievement for any man who would benefit mankind.

The satisfaction that most people derive from that prejudice called "patriotism" is one of the most instructive things in this world to any

man who, before aspiring to wisdom, is curious to know something of the boundaries of folly. This prejudice, that lacks the redeeming qualities of others I have in mind, is well characterized by Schopenhauer, who, however, did not realize as fully as he might have done the possible disaster of robbing any man of the sole satisfaction of his vanity. He said: "The cheapest sort of pride is national pride; for if a man is proud of his own nation, it argues that he has no qualities of his own of which he can be proud; otherwise, he would not have recourse to those which he shares with so many millions of his fellow-men." While some sort of illusion is necessary to life, it must be doubted if this peculiar prejudice serves any useful purpose.

But perhaps the most permanent and most widespread prejudice, and the one which all men of contrary prejudices should investigate carefully, is that against men who publish unpleasant truths. The history of government, philosophy, religion, science and literature is occupied with showing how much weighty wisdom has been expended in stoning and crucifying and broiling and frying the perverse and wicked souls who were possessed of a prejudice in favor of their own wicked opinions and the truth. It is too much of a subject for this paper—which is mainly concerned with the general matter of the satisfactions to be derived from those smaller prejudices that have a social value. These are such prejudices as the ancient one against poverty, which cuts some people off from much good society, the prejudice against cynics and other folk with no genius for hypocrisy, against honesty, against old-fashioned ideas and new virtues, ancient truth and new books, poets and critics, justice and mercy. The list, if prolonged, would become a catalogue of all the virtues, though it would also include a fair proportion of vices.

But although it is the way of the world to confuse all good things with prejudices, (and we have here, to indulge a humor, somewhat acquiesced in the way of the world), the first thing which a wise man must learn in order to retain his own good opinion is not to mistake his prejudices for his convictions or *vice versa*. When he has learned this lesson he must expect to enjoy some isolation, for in retaining his own good opinion in this way he must forfeit that of others. But then a fine, amusing prejudice can flourish much more hardily independent of sympathy than with it. A good, harmless prejudice for a man who needs some intellectual distraction, and is not naturally vicious, is a prejudice against critics. It is perhaps, indeed, due simply to the universality of this prejudice among authors that the critics are read at all. There are prejudices of greater moment, but scarcely one that affords more constant amusement. And with these vague hints I must close, for, unfortunately, there is a growing prejudice against long sermons.

WALTER BLACKBURN HARTE.

THE NEW TIME.*

There is always much that is inspiring and stimulating, and often much that is truly inspiring, and puts the world in a new light, in a haphazard excursion into either the prose or poetry contained in the two sturdy volumes which comprise the complete works of Walt Whitman. I have never been able to share his large and superabundant optimism as to the peculiar beneficence and moral force which, from his point of view, were inherent in the thought of the very vastness of this continent, and that the political abstraction which we call democracy would eventually work out a splendid future for the people of "these States." He writes constantly of "the splendor, picturesqueness and oceanic amplitude and rush of our great cities; their unsurpassed situation, their rivers and bays, sparkling sea tides, costly and lofty new buildings, *facades* of marble and iron, with a mass of gay color, a preponderance of white and blue, flags flying, the endless ships and tumultuous streets, Broadway, and the long, ceaseless, heavy, musical roar, never intermitted, even at night." These completely satisfy his sense of power, fulness and motion, and exalt his spirit. These pictures of his and the satisfaction he derives from them are the garnering of a large and ample imagination.

There is, however, another side to these pictures. One can stroll down Broadway, jostled in the crowd, and in a certain mood feel something of Whitman's exaltation and joy in the mere material largeness of this vast crowd, whose only community of interest is money. But a little reflection will cause one to remember that this is not in any way the peculiar glory of democracy. There was surely some confusion in the poet's mind in identifying this pomp of life with the civilization of a democracy as something peculiar to it. This bustle of life is to be seen everywhere. One can see it in Piccadilly or Port Said. It was the daily scene in Athens and Babylon. Instead of this flattering one's hopes, on the contrary a discouraging conviction must creep into one's mind that a political convention does not greatly affect the fortunes of the millions. If humanity is ever to be animated by a new hope it must come from some more radical social change than that of the transition from the old barbarism of monarchy to a political freedom that does not include every man's right to share in the provisions and benefits of Nature for the whole race, which she, with the most magnanimous indifference about the virtues or vices of individuals, nations or centuries, has provided for mankind throughout the ages and will continue to provide for an indefinite number of millenniums.

It is true that Walt Whitman did not altogether overlook some of these ugly facts which are at variance with the complacent opinion of that great mass of people who imagine that democracy, as it flourishes in the America of our day, is the final consummation of Western civili-

* "The New Time," by B. O. Flower. Price; cloth \$1; paper 25 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

zation. In more than one place in "Democratic Vistas" Whitman is compelled to admit that "feudalism, caste, the ecclesiastical traditions, still hold essentially by their spirit entire possession of the more important fields, indeed the very sub-soil of education, of social standards and literature." But he was, above all, the prophet of modern democracy, the one writer most distinctively imbued with what Americans love to call "the American idea" — whatever specific that may be, considering that all that makes America significant in any political and social way she inherited direct from Europe. In this, from my point of view, admitting his significance, his breadth of humanity and his poetry, we see Whitman's chief weakness; for the spirit of this age is inimical to the development of the American idea or the European idea or any other elusive characterization of civilization which depends merely upon some political scheme of government, or upon the arbitrarily geographical alienness created by continents and oceans. The tremendous advances of science and the application of scientific methods to sociological investigation are destroying a great deal of the force of the old traditional ignorance of self-complacent patriotism, which has so little individual merit to put in evidence that it is obliged to merge itself in the pride of a geographical expression.

It is really amazing that men should be so incapable of apprehending their real relations to the social world and to Nature herself, who has brought them here, that they actually congratulate themselves over a cataclysm of nature which happened æons upon æons ago, in which they had no more part or parcel than this summer's flies, in which no more concern was paid to their future appearance than to that of these same insects. The newer social thinking is beginning to realize what Renan called the "immorality of Nature," and with a deepening sense of man's insignificance in the scheme of Nature, there is growing a wider recognition of man's significant relation with man. The whole social world should be leagued, without reference to any geographical divisions, the differences of languages, the differences of religion (which resolve themselves into worship of an unknown God), the difference of habits, of living and of thought, into securing from Nature all the supplies essential to the comfort and happiness of the social world as a whole.

I have touched upon Walt Whitman's glorification of democracy, not merely to point out that, in my opinion, he did not consistently comprehend that in itself democracy could not effect any more stable state of society than monarchy or despotism, but because he is undoubtedly the greatest exponent this country has produced of its democratic ideals and aspirations, and is recognized as having made the very best exposition of the matter and the only adequate one in American literature. But in marshalling before us, as Whitman well knew how to, in one great panorama the spectacle of life as it is played out in these states, we find that it is almost wholly lacking in spiritual significance; that

there is one element absent from the grandest of these gigantic schemes and enterprises, whose absence threatens the whole structure, however magnificent it may be—and that element is *justice*. The experience of a century, and particularly of the last few decades of the century, has shown us that the democratic principles which the philosophers of the eighteenth century thought would remove all the ills of the body politic are entirely inadequate to cure the diseases from which society is suffering. As Whitman himself has said, the French Revolution was a hunger strike, but to-day the masses in France and America are no better off than they were before the declarations of democracy were carried into government. We are rapidly outgrowing the belief in the eighteenth century cure-all. At the same time, in just the same fashion, only somewhat faster, the individualistic Radicals of England are rapidly disappearing and becoming absorbed in new political associations like the Fabian Society, which with a wider comprehension of economic problems are not merely political but are significantly *social*. The area of the United States has hitherto made the economic problem less puzzling and less acutely pressing in this country than in Europe, and to-day there is more diffidence about social questions here than there is on the other side of the Atlantic, among all classes of society. But this condition of things is rapidly disappearing, and the republic is threatened with two dangerous social phenomena; the one is called the tramp and the other is involuntary idleness of thousands of men willing and able to work to earn a livelihood if they can obtain an opportunity to apply their labor to material.

I have been led to make this hasty comparison of the old-fashioned individualistic radical thinking, which is entrenched, to the detriment of all real progress, in the so-called "democratic ideal," and is the linch-pin of Walt Whitman's democratic political faith and hopes for a great race and a great literature, with the new social thought, based upon scientific evidence and not upon any theological dogma or any sentiment, because only through some comprehension of this radical and important change in social thought can the reader get hold of the real significance of such a book as Mr. B. O. Flower's "The New Time." It is difficult to estimate such books without some knowledge of the factors that are swinging radicalism out of its old impotence into a growing acceptance of scientific evidence, that alone can form the ground of any possible socialistic political philosophy; and in the meanwhile afford the utmost effectiveness to remedial measures and to the campaign of education.

The old radicalism was simply a natural revulsion from the old Toryism, and while it effected a great measure of good, we could not expect from it anything like a philosophy of right based upon laws more fundamental than the Magna Charta—the *data* of biology, physiology, geology and those related sciences which have revolutionized thought in two generations. The old radicalism which imposes upon the American understanding as something very novel and peculiar in the flattering

form of the "American idea" has nothing whatever to do with first principles and simply limped on political crutches. It was more a schism from theological politics than an attempt to get back to nature. It knew no more of science than theology itself. It is the dismal philosophy of the eighteenth century that pits every individual against the whole aggregate of individuals and against the cosmos itself. It takes no concern of either the social or the natural environment. It is simply based upon the philosophy of "Poor Richard," and the ultimate of its social hopes is "Devil take the hindmost." But just as the church is about to bless this admirable philosophy, as in strict relation to its revised dogmas, science steps in and shows that, while it is perfectly practicable as a rule of social conduct, it leads to the corruption of the social whole, to misery and suffering, to social bankruptcy. It is a philosophy for political economists, but it is in violation of the economy of Nature, and cannot escape her merciless retaliation.

It is one of the few encouraging signs of the times that the individualistic ideal, in contradistinction from the socialism that would make individualism possible to all, is being abandoned by nearly all social thinkers to the Tory and plutocratic crew who preach it and prosper upon a socialism of government that does not include the masses, except as plunder. The one hope of socialism is in science; for though no such social ideal animated the great modern investigators of physical science, and no final and thoroughly comprehensive social philosophy has as yet been raised upon the results of these researches, their unescapable lesson is that the highest material and moral progress of mankind must be social, and is incompatible with any individualistic barbarism. All the progress the world has made has been in degree socialistic. Any and every government which imposes laws for the maintenance of individual and commercial security and peace is in some sort a socialism; and it must be remembered that the commercial robber barons of our modern society would be absolutely impossible in a purely logical individualistic state, for they are protected in their anti-social brigandage by the imperfect form of socialism which we call "a government by the people."

This wide divergence from the author immediately under consideration is essential to form any adequate idea of the author's purpose, for all the factors in our social problems can no more find a place in his book than they can in this *causerie*; but some consciousness of the first principles at the bottom of all social organization is necessary in a consideration of any proposals for extending and insuring the benefits of socialism to the whole mass of individuals for the securing of the preservation of the whole social body. Individualism is in accordance with natural law, in so far as it does not trespass upon and trample down the natural rights of the mass of individuals; when it does this it imperils itself and the whole mass, for it upsets the equilibrium of nature. The aim of socialism is to embody the laws of nature in the social law, and so allow the greatest possible amount of liberty to every individual, com-

patible with the security, comfort and liberty of other individuals and the stability of the social order. This is the difference between the existing system of economy, which is utterly unrelated to science, and socialistic economy, which is based upon reason and the incontrovertible facts of biologic and geologic investigation.

Our existing system permits an individualism in the social body that is carried to the point of anarchy, menacing the social whole. 'Socialism would abolish such exaggerated individualism by making the individual seizure of the resources of nature impossible, and so maintaining an individual freedom in every generation. The rights of property *in rem* would not be menaced or invaded—as is commonly supposed by unintelligent people and ignorant or venal publicists who speak of the polarities of thought, anarchism and socialism, in a breath as identical—but they would be limited to those things which the individual actually produced without assistance from the common resources of nature, or any social aid. This would effectually abolish slavery without interfering at all with natural incentives to ambition. Only the anti-social, jackdaw capacities need other bribes and baits for their exercise; and these merely rob society and give no sort of equivalent. In all coöperative effort in which nature and man were concerned every individual would receive his portion of the gross product according to the necessities of all.

These are the ultimate aims of socialism. To effect them we must provide a working theory of social economy that will reduce the ills of life, as far as possible, to those ills with which Nature afflicts the race—drought, famine, pestilence, disease, deformity and death. These perils would seem to be enough, but the worst evil of existence to-day is our human environment.

Mr. Flower, in "The New Time," as the title of the book shows, has these larger and ultimate aims in view, and suggests some of the lines of work and study which may eventually lead to their approximation; but, like every other social teacher of to-day who is really sincere, and not one of those mere contemptible phrase-mongers who throng the Christian pulpits and get into schools of ethics to dissipate conscience in windy and cheerful benevolence, he is an opportunist and a strong adherent of the practical Fabian tactics. His sincerity is attested by the immediate and concrete nature of his aims. He does not, of course, confine his teaching to municipal and social reforms, but is the advocate of every such reform which can contribute the smallest element of success to the propaganda that we hope is to effect very much more sweeping and radical changes. It is only from hard-won victories in these small and, more or less, inglorious circles that we can expect any real propagation of the larger social aims with which these are bound up. All of the liberties and freedom which we possess—and among the most important of these up to date is the liberty to ask for more—have been won in this way.

It may seem a little paradoxical, but it is true, nevertheless, that those mystical-minded creatures who will be content with nothing less than the millennium are the last people from whom the race can derive any benefit. Thus we have to-day a large and somewhat learned "Christian" ministry, which will be content with nothing less than the establishment of the kingdom of God upon earth, and which is opposed, to a man; to any real, practical reform that will lessen the burden of the masses by a straw's weight. The slow evolution of morals discourages these large imaginations that cannot palter with compromises; and they cry continually for the millennium, because they know that, this being out of the question, as human nature is constituted, they will not be called upon to disturb any of the ugly realities of life which contribute, or which they fancy contribute, to their security and prosperity. But if there is one thing more than another which common sense must ultimately recognize, it is that every-day morality rests more upon unalterable physical facts than it does upon any dogmatic conception of God or First Cause, or upon any theory of post-mortal rewards or punishments, however great and undeniable an influence these may exert in the moral antagonisms of mankind.

Thus granting all the fascination of subtle metaphysical analysis, common sense must maintain that the primary concerns of our social life, in a world which continually presents to us, however great its mysteries, its most realistic aspect, must be the every-day realities of life. Any philosophy or creed religion which leaves out or slurs over the gigantic moral bankruptcy always imminent in a social world filled with empty stomachs, may be very interesting and very valuable as an intellectual exercise in the libraries of such of us as are comfortable, but it must inevitably be removed from real life. And this is no hardship to the theologians, for they prosper best upon a religion of ceremonies and abstractions.

Mr. Flower certainly lacks none of Walt Whitman's high hope for the future of society and civilization; but he does not pin his faith to democracy as the panacea for all our social ills, as Whitman appeared to do. We have learned that the same social phenomena appear in different countries, under different systems of government, all over the world. We know that one form of government in the Western world to-day does not differ greatly from another. It is not due to our political institutions so much as it is to our economic system, which perverts our political institutions, that we owe the threatening problem of ever increasing and widening poverty, which is no more mitigated in a democracy than it is in a monarchy. Politics, of course, should be economics, or rather a true system of economics should be the main concern of politics. But we know that every country has its different game of politics, although all countries have about the same system of individualistic competitive economics, hence all countries are confronted with the same great and overshadowing problem. This question is not, as

Walt Whitman and others seem to think, a question of the salvation intact of "the American idea" — it is a larger question than that; in fact there is no need for the preservation intact of "the American idea" — the question which organized society throughout the civilized world has got to solve is the question of economic distribution of products among the producers. If it is a question which admits of no solution, as many good "Christian" brethren who offer us the millennium affirm, then the one hope of a cure for the ills of civilization must surely be the invasion of some less grievous barbarism. And before passing on, let me recommend the reader to get Edward Carpenter's "Civilization: Its Cause and Cure," one of the most suggestive books, dealing with our civilization from the standpoint of the new science, one can find in a day's march.

I do not know that I altogether share in Mr. Flower's optimism (although one dare not affirm too much about the future of society, for individual opinion is so much a matter of moods), but I do share his opinion, and that of all the strong men who really approach the social question in a scientific spirit, that no true man can afford to regard these evils with a mere shallow cynicism or indifference. I have no patience with those large-minded hypocrites who deafen us with vague generalities about the millennium, and cannot see the misery and wrong and suffering under their very noses, because their pulpits are raised so high upon the sturdy shoulders of prosperous iniquity.

The arguments for justice and humanity have been made so many, many times and been indorsed by conventional philanthropy and Christianity and then put aside with other intellectual amusements, that there is little need for any writer, if it were not for men's short memories, to remarshal the stupendous facts of life. The very earliest philosophers of whom we know anything preached justice — Confucius and Mencius, before the advent of Christ, as did also the Greeks — but men have always rendered the teachings of such men unreal by making them a mere intellectual exercise or an amusement. One of the latest great prophets of the bald, uncompromising truth was Carlyle, — and what is the cant criticism of his work to-day? "He is a good inspiration for young men, but with years we outgrow him." Indeed! — then we have outgrown all perception of humanity and justice. It is this trick the good, comfortable souls have of turning all the reality of thought into *mere literature*, which is driving a great many social thinkers into the terrible field of statistics. Here again there is another disability. The average reader cannot spare the time and has not the inclination to wade painfully through great volumes of statistics. — Thus the only way for such valuable labors as those of Mr. Charles Booth in England to become effective in the diffusion of information is through some more popular appeal to the human sympathies of the masses of readers.

The conventional critics, in the grip of plutocracy, have two formulas

of criticism in dealing with every work of a social character. If it is argumentative, based upon science and philosophy, they say, "These are diverting theories; but they are not facts." If it contains a mass of evidence, they cry, "Very sad; but this is not an argument." And so the poor creatures, who might combine both sorts of social books and make some deductions of their own, are quite determined to remain in intellectual darkness on all social matters, except police government, about which they claim infallible wisdom. Hence it is scarcely possible that this book of Mr. Flower's, which is inspired and permeated by facts, and avowedly has a purpose altogether distinct from any work of merely literary aims, will meet with much hospitality from the ordinary run of critics. Some will quarrel with it because it is intended to reach the conscience and not merely to amuse; they will solemnly damn it as not literary enough. If it were purely an emotional, literary appeal these same gentlemen would howl for facts. Others will demand an abstruse philosophical argument; for philosophy has always been more or less radical, but has never touched the popular mind. But, as I have said, the philosophy of this subject is within easy reach of all who desire to become acquainted with it.

In "The New Time" are some facts for the consideration of those who have not been greatly impressed with the philosophy, and for others who, with no acquaintance with the philosophy, may be led from reading something about some of the facts of life to inquire into it. Certainly the way to reach the greatest number of people and to create something more than a vague conception of relative comfort and discomfort is to deal with the facts of the social question in the concrete. And Mr. Flower's book has a definite and specific social aim. The first paper in the volume is the one which, published in *THE ARENA* as a suggestion, led to the establishment of the Union for Practical Progress, which is rapidly swelling into a great movement for social, economic and other reforms. The other papers give some of the social results of our modern civilization and suggest practical remedial measures. One of the great recommendations of Mr. Flower's book is its limitation of purpose, which concentrates attention upon evils which are within the knowledge of everybody. Thus its remedial purpose is not dissipated in purely speculative thought. The book is published primarily as a handbook outlining the aims and methods of the National Union for Practical Progress, and its prime reason for existence, unlike that of most books, is one of service. It is intended to make people think, in a new way and with a deeper sense of moral obligation, about those social happenings which are daily retailed in the newspapers, but have a greater significance and relation to the welfare of the whole social body than is apparent to those who simply read "the news."

In a word, "The New Time" brings this matter directly home to every man's bosom and business—following Bacon's prescription of the manner in which the facts and sciences of life should be dealt with. As Mr.

Flower says in the chapter on "The Wine Press," this is not merely an economic problem which confronts us and which relates to the preservation of the state and justice to the individual, but its ethical bearing and its relation to the very future of civilization are so grave that it should have significance to every individual conscience. A man may be out of the social maelstrom to-day; but in a society which recognizes no more moral claims than those of "supply and demand," and no higher sanctity than the "survival of the fittest," what man can say with any surety that he will not be dragged down to-morrow? Or if not he himself, with what sort of complacency can any man regard his children, certain at some time to be compelled to make a struggle in such a world? Putting the matter upon the lowest grounds of mere social self-preservation, the matter of reaching some more humane social opinion than exists at present should interest every man, for it is notorious that outside of the aristocracies, entrenched in the law of primogeniture and entail, and the plutocracies, entrenched as landlords and usurers, the fortunes of almost every family, both in this country and in the old world, change in less than three generations. This being so, those who glory in the mere vanity of their own prosperity to-day can have but little compassion upon their miserable progeny, which will, in all probability, be lost among the desolate to-morrow. To the precarious comfortables such works as this should appeal with peculiar force. To those who possess congenital moral instincts some of the facts disclosed in these papers must be little less than appalling.

Mr. Flower cites case after case which shows the ever increasing displacement of the workers by new devices and combinations, and the growing centralization of all industrial enterprise in the hands of the few. On every hand we see men, after searching and pleading for work, committing suicide so as not to perish of starvation. Thousands die literally of cold and starvation. Mr. Flower cites one actual case from a New York newspaper in which a young and healthy man under thirty advertised himself *for sale* to anybody who would pay something for the support of his mother. This happened in a civilized city! Mr. Charles Booth, the eminent English statistician, says that twenty per cent of the English laborers reach the age of sixty and a ratio of one in five persons in the kingdom die paupers in the hospitals or poorhouses. This is the end of civilization! This is the uplifting of humanity by "Christian" philanthropy! How long will it be, with the drift toward Cæsarism and the growth of plutocracy, before this is equally true of the United States?

The parallel which Mr. Flower draws between the civilization of Rome and Athens two thousand years ago, quoting from Plutarch, Juvenal, Froude, Farrar, Dr. Fyffe, Dr. Hatch and others, and our civilization of to-day, shows the same corruption at the core in each. The absolute identity of the social factors moulding both civilizations is startling. Mr. Flower is hopeful that there are sufficiently great regen-

erative forces at work in our modern society to avert the final evils which befell Rome. There is certainly a growing consciousness among all thinking men that our glorious social system has mistaken means for ends and utterly lost sight of ends altogether; but it is impossible for any man to predict the future of our civilization. Since we have lost faith in an especial Providence watching over special races, and have learned to know that human nature is as good and as bad in both hemispheres, we can have no valid reason to suppose our conceit of our civilization will save it, if it is to be engulfed eventually as the fatal cycle swings round, any more than the faith of the Jews in their mission saved Jerusalem. Our civilization is really not too superior to go to the "demnition bow-wows."

But even if there is to be a day of reckoning, we may with some assurance feel that our generation, at least, will continue to prosper and suffer in iniquity, so that, abandoning all hope of the millennium, we can still address ourselves to the task of bringing our social laws into some approximation to the laws of Nature, in order to mitigate as far as possible some of the evils inherent in human nature. This immediate and palliative purpose is the inspiration of Mr. Flower's book. The ideal for which he is striving is "The New Time," but he concerns himself with the here and now and our realistic evils, instead of flattering our vanity by painting those virtues that are to pertain to humanity in that distant era when the new time is to become a fact; and for these evils, which though radical are not absolute, he proposes remedies of a like nature. This is much more likely to appeal to the practical minded than the most elaborate bundle of social speculations, which — most unfortunately, as I think, for practice must be forever lame without theories — seem to many to possess only a remote and abstract relevance to real life. As Mr. Flower himself points out, in discussing the independent charitable efforts of a few in the community, and the more important educational propaganda being made by some of the best thinkers of the day, all palliative work must be founded upon the principle of justice and not of charity. "Charity carried on instead of justice, or as an ultimate, in effect strengthens conservative injustice." And as to the necessity of reform writers devoting themselves to specific evils and to specific educational work, he says: —

Our philosophers and theoretical reformers, after they have promulgated noble ideals and outlined practical plans for redemptive work based on justice, frequently remain in seclusion, expecting the cause to reach and leaven society, ignoring the fact that the grandest ideals of social progress will remain as exquisite marble statues, so far as the multitude is concerned, until the breath of life — human sympathy — is breathed into them. They must be carried to the industrial millions in such a way that the humble will see and feel that they are more than glittering generalities.

It is this propagation of ideas which it is hoped the Union for Practical Progress — a union of all the reform forces in society — may be able to effect through a programme of both education and practical work, such as the Fabian Society is carrying on in London.

To criticise a work with such aims and purposes from the merely literary standpoint would be absurd; but all readers of *THE ARENA* are familiar with Mr. Flower's crisp, vigorous and trenchant style, which marches with a whole army of facts under perfect command (a most difficult art) and lights up with love and sympathy the dusty highways of politics and economics, and puts a new hope even into the squalid purlieus where the municipal game is played. We have a multitude of merely "literary" writers, and we are in greater need of such reading as "The New Time" than we are of some much more pretty dilettantism. Personally, I can and do enjoy reading some of the *dilettanti*; but they cannot fill one's mind, and for every writer in our contemporary literary show who dares to touch realities and write at the dictates of conscience, we have a hundred literary little ones who would fain imitate Walter Pater and Oscar Wilde and be happy and comfortable. We need above all things *real* men in our literature, and the measure of all literary value is not something extrinsic, as some critics think, or preach, but something intrinsic.

WALTER BLACKBURN HARTE.

MOTHER, WILL AND I.*

This book is a timely and soul-stirring contribution to reform literature. It is a story of our day, of our so-called civilization, dealing with the cold facts of life which turn this might-be paradise of a world into a veritable hell for such natures as are susceptible to suffering. The author has vividly portrayed the influence on a naturally noble soul of the crushing, inhuman power of our present social and industrial conditions. This story is a startling revelation of the possibilities wrapped up in even the generous, loving natures, and as such, aside from its decided literary merit, is worthy of the serious perusal of every thoughtful man and woman, every lover of justice and humanity.

The hero, Will Coit, has an extraordinary nature; from his early childhood so lofty in thought, so strong in spirit, so loyal and withal so loving, that the story of his youth is an inspiration to the reader, and tears spring to the eyes as one's heart echoes the noble sentiments. The very first chapter holds one spell-bound. It gives us an exquisite word painting of the childhood and youth of the two brothers, Will and Milton—Milton who tells the story, and who worships his older brother and, in spite of conscience, is impelled to follow him later into forbidden paths. Sons of well-to-do and gentle parents, their time was their own for education and pleasure; but unlike the mass of fortune-favored youths, their one passion, aside from their great love for their mother, was the serving of humanity with one's utmost powers. Milton says of this time:—

* "Mother, Will and I," by Milton Coit. Pp. 390; price, paper 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Copley Square, Boston, Mass.

The most vivid of our conceptions was that of the world-wide struggle between good and evil. And from the books he [Will] read, and the teachings of our parents, we had learned that the first duty of every person endowed with moral sense is to take part in this struggle.

The scene on the heights of Fairmount Park, where the brothers rest after their long walk and look down on the city of their birth the night before Will enters college, is an awe-inspiring and holy picture of two youthful, aspiring souls dedicating themselves and all their powers to the service of God and of their fellow-men. It was at this time that Will, filled with high impulses and the great wish to be of service, exclaimed:—

"I could become a martyr and die to-morrow if it would impress one idea upon mankind, or prompt others to do that to which I aspire. I could face torture and torment, hunger and persecution."

College life but increased his fervor as it increased his knowledge. Listen to this outburst as he feels within him the desire to enter the ministry, to bring men to a knowledge of God and of the power of righteousness in the world:—

"Oh, if I did but know that I was capable of inspiring my hearers to nobler lives, and introducing them to higher worlds! . . . I am beginning to feel a power within me I never knew before. I feel as if I had hold of something capable of lifting humanity, that sluggish, stupid, sinning mass, and making it breathe and live, instead of feeding on itself. The pulpit is the fulcrum, God is the power, I hope to be a lever. . . . In the pulpit I stand on the brink of two worlds, having a firm hold on each. With one arm I try to bring heaven to earth, with the other to bring earth to heaven."

These words will give some idea of the devotional and intense nature which as yet had had no place for anything unholy, and which gloried in life as the embodiment of unnumbered opportunities for doing good.

It is during Will's college days that the family becomes (unknown to him) pecuniarily embarrassed. Through the operation of certain privileges granted to corporations, Judge Coit loses a great deal of money, and through the operation of certain other privileges granted those who manipulate the finances of the country (and oh, that the eyes of the American people might be opened!) he becomes still further embarrassed, the victim of unjust class laws and of the favored individuals who benefited by them, as much as if he had been held up in the highway and robbed in the "regulation" mode of the brigand. This is the fact that readers of "Mother, Will and I" want to remember when they condemn Will Coit for the deeds of his later life.

Will is kept in ignorance of his father's troubles till they can no longer be hidden from the public. Mrs. Coit has clung to the hope that Will might finish his college education. But the crash comes. Will, wholly unprepared for the shock, sees in a moment all his beautiful castles, his dream houses, crumble. They crash about his ears. But it is not of himself that he thinks, even now. It is of his father and mother, of Milton and little Don. He grows old in an hour. Life takes on a color all undreamed-of in the days gone by. Dreams are no longer to be suffered. Acts must take their place. Despite all entreaty he abandons

his college work, packs his trunk, and pressing his beloved mother passionately to his heart, bidding her be of good cheer for she shall yet have all the good things of life by means of his strong arm, he sets out to win his way in the world, with hope seemingly invincible.

Alas! and alas! How many thousands could tell the same story, — of discouraging search for work; of "from twenty to two hundred applicants for every vacant position"; of the rebuffs, the disappointments, the failures and the heart-aches! He who has burned with the zeal of the missionary writes at this time to his brother Milton, —

"I am glad my faith does not rest on the character of church members, for if it did, I should become a sceptic on short notice."

Poorly paid work is found at last, and every cent possible is sent home to help eke out the scanty income from Judge Coit's almost ruined law business, ruined through the rascality of a partner. At the end of a year Will writes home:—

"My year has not been altogether lost, for my sympathies have been broadened, and I have become convinced that our family is the victim of no especial fate, that we are suffering no peculiar curse, but that we are one among a million households, whose happiness has been blasted by social injustice understood only by a very few."

Then comes a long illness caused by hard work and lack of proper food. For weeks he hovers between life and death, always tortured, even in delirium, by the fear of his mother succumbing to overwork and privation. She is failing fast. Will he be too late to save her? Is he never to earn enough to give her the necessary food and the rest she craves? Slowly he wins in the battle with death. But weakened in body and spirit, courage weakens, too, and, worst of all, so does his faith in God. Still he prays fervently that his doubts may be overcome; that his beloved mother may be spared; for oh, how fast her life is ebbing! Is there a God in heaven? Why does He not hear?

As soon as possible he gets work in a railroad office and takes his meals (?) away from home, that his mother may not know that he is living on wheat and water at a cost of eight cents a day. How frenzied the anxiety to save every cent possible to add a day — an hour — to the precious life slipping away from him! And after all his efforts, his agony of soul, he cannot help her, cannot hold her. Hard work and shattered hopes have done their work; the delicate sensitive plant draws its quivering petals together, shrinking from the cold blasts of the world, and with a look of unutterable love and longing turned on Will, her pet and *Mol*, the light in the beloved eyes goes out forever.

Will stands as if turned to stone. Others can find relief in tears. For him no tears will come. For him there is no "mother," no hope, no God, no heaven — all a great blank! The last remnant of his faith disappears.

And now the scene changes. As the last clod of earth falls on the encoffined form of his mother, Will Coit seals the first volume of his life and opens the second, on whose white pages are to be recorded deeds

over which angels may weep, but which to him seem righteous because enacted with the burning desire to "rid the poor out of the hand of the wicked," and to "let the oppressed go free." He begins a career of lawlessness: not promiscuously, but dealing his blows for humanity to the schemers and plotters against it. He so sets forth the righteousness (as he sees it) of the cause that he even induces the peaceful Milton to join him and the seven other men of his choice in the work of adjusting for themselves some of the existing wrongs.

The chapter on "The Divine Birth" will shock the average Christian reader; but it must be remembered that Will Coit had lost utterly his faith in the existence of an overruling, intelligent Being, and it can thus be the more readily understood why he could suggest that the little band of men struggling to do some of those things in the world for which millions were praying, should assume the title of "God," and seek to take the answering of prayer into their own hands.

The money lawlessly stolen from those who had lawfully (?) stolen it was used to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, pay doctors' and landlords' bills for the unfortunate; and many were the thanks sent upward to the God of heaven for mercies dispensed secretly by the "Special Providence" of the new organization.

Eventually Will Coit is wounded in an attempt at house-breaking, but is rescued from the officer by one of the organization, and carried for the night to the house of a negro whom Will had befriended. It seems the only alternative, but the negro is not wholly trusted, and later on he is the means of "killing" the new "God," so that Will flies and wires his comrades to do the same. Is he dead or alive? Milton (who, for reasons to which space cannot here be given, escapes suspicion and marries in the city of his birth) never knows, but writes:—

If his disappearance from his friends is due not to death but to his calamitous disappointments and certainty of arrest if found, I am confident that in the still hours of the night, while the world at large and I are in peaceful slumber, his active brain is still evolving schemes of helpfulness for those he loves, even though he be still planning vengeance on those who he thinks have caused the widespread misery that embittered him.

Will had not married. His first great passion was for his mother, the second for humanity; and not till the time of his illness caused by the bullet wound did the "divine passion" stir his heart for any special woman. This woman, Fanny Mabrey, nursed him during his illness, and that with such passionate devotion, for she had long loved him, that Will found it impossible not to reciprocate the feeling and be moved to emotion.

Why this episode should have terminated as it did it is hard to see. Will suddenly opened his heart to the new love and enfolded it therein. Neither Will nor Fanny seemed to think for a moment that their union should be sanctioned by the law, or that there was any need of protecting the name and rights of the innocent and helpless little stranger to

whose coming they both looked forward eagerly, and through whom alone Will hoped for immortality. He who could run all the risks incident to law breaking for the sake of helping to establish the rights of the oppressed, could call to this world of injustice and suffering a soul bound from the first to suffer from his own parents' injustice; to be a reproach and a by-word; unlawful; a nameless child!

But the Will who worked this wrong because he had learned to despise law—the Will who could take life if necessary in order to carry out the plans which he felt would benefit the world—was not the Will who started out in his youth filled with every high and holy impulse; and for the change by which this naturally noble, self-sacrificing, tender, loving soul became the desperate leader of an organized gang for plunder and outlawry, we have our present social and industrial system to thank.

If some shall say that the general trend of the book is an argument for anarchy, I beg leave to differ from them. The author's introduction belies this idea. He says the book was written—

for the purpose of making public the process by which the possible future destroyers of society are now being created. . . . My one prayer to God is that the real drama may never be. I tell of a school of amateurs. May this world never become a stage for such actors as this school promises! And one word I have for those who are hoping and working for a new and better world. I sincerely believe that the same effort and enthusiasm that Will Coit spent in his hopeless violence against society, if devoted to the new ideal in harmony with law, might have organized a new political party capable of an ideal social reconstruction. If one young man or woman with heart on fire for human kind is turned, by the painful incidents herein described, from violently wasting force in hopeless rebellion against society to an intelligent struggle by means of the ballot for the realization of the higher ideals, then I shall feel amply repaid for the labor spent.

And this is the lesson taught by this vivid and appalling story. It sends forth a stirring and mighty call for the just ones of the earth to declare an end to the oppressions of the wicked. It tells enough of the ways by which robbery by corporations and individuals is legalized to interest the passive voters of the country in a *study* of the question. It will lead them to investigate the underlying causes of the distress prevailing among millions of our hard-working people. It will awake them to a fact which thousands already know, but to which they are indifferent—that angels may become fiends, that great and good men can turn their powers into forbidden channels and defy God and man in the outpouring of an unquenchable wrath born of righteous indignation. It will startle, but God grant in time to save!

The godless system under which we are living is bringing upon itself the curses it has evolved. This book will sound a *reveillé* to all patriots, and may they as one man "present arms" at the ballot-box in defence of the republic and of the rights of the common people as laid down in the constitution, before those rights have been hopelessly trodden under foot by tyrannical combinations of wealth.

God send us laborers into the field!—educators, preachers, teachers, exhorters; God-fearing, God-loving men and women who shall openly

and in the nearing of the whole world hold forth the dangers of the present system; its merciless power over the lives of millions; its injustice, its inhumanity, its godlessness, till the great mass of liberty-loving sons of Columbia—nay, of the world, for God hath made of one blood all nations of men—shall rise in their might, in the majesty of their power, and proclaim freedom to all people in the name of the God of freedom, who, though He *has* said, "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not steal," has also commanded His followers to "break every yoke."

And it is well for us who are Christians to remember that while we cannot countenance unlawful acts, so long especially as we vote for those laws, we are ourselves culpable and to be condemned of God if we, either through ignorance or wilful neglect, fail to do our duty in the present crisis. That duty requires of us a knowledge of existing conditions, of laws relating to them, and an intelligent exercise of power in abolishing unjust institutions and establishing equal rights to each and all. Notwithstanding the seeming sacrilege in the substitution of man's strength for God's, as Will Coit proposed, there is a lesson in that very thing which we as Christians would do well to ponder. God wants us to *act* as well as pray. He wants to use us as instruments in carrying out His will among men. If we pray, "Thy kingdom come and Thy will be done," without lifting a finger to help that will to its fulfilment, we are mocking God as much as is the man who scoffs at Him. I believe God wants us to answer some of our own prayers. He has put it in our power so to do. He sternly rebuked the people of Israel, through Moses their leader, when, after having led them through divers troubles safely, they dared not take a step of themselves, but stood crying helplessly to the Lord. "Wherefore criest thou unto Me?" was His reply. "Speak to My people that they go FORWARD."

If those who call upon His name, who pray to him daily and *await* His will, will arouse themselves to try to *do* His will, the peril which threatens us may even now be averted. "Agitate! agitate! agitate!" said Wendell Phillips. And to this we must add, Educate! educate! educate! The author of "Mother, Will and I," has attempted a very interesting psychological analysis, which, read in the right spirit, should be a warning to us not to continue to create such perverse and anti-social dangerous minds by warping their moral impulses by legalized injustice and inhumanity. The book will be condemned in some quarters, and will produce thought in others. It can do no social harm, however, to boldly proclaim the social dangers bred by society.

JOSEPHINE RAND.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ZODIAC UPON HUMAN LIFE.*

To a student and close observer of human nature, who makes wise use of every help to the understanding of his fellow-man, this unpretentious little book will prove a real help.

"The Influence of the Zodiac upon Human Life," by Eleanor Kirk. Cloth; pp. 180; price \$1.50. Published by the Idea Publishing Company, 606 Greene Avenue, Brooklyn N. Y.

Professor Pritchard, in his preface to that charming volume, "The Ocean of Air," says that to remain wilfully and purposely ignorant of the existence and meaning of the nature of the phenomena in the midst of which we live and move and have our being is hardly worthy of mortals who rank themselves among the rational orders of the creation. The most pleasant of our mental enjoyments, he says, are associated with a knowledge which is comparatively superficial.

The thought of the study of astrology, which reaches back so far that one can hardly imagine a time when it was not known, is associated with the idea of ponderous tomes, ceaseless vigils and abstruse mathematical calculations too wearisome for the average man to contemplate. Doubtless all these have been needed in making observations and storing up the accumulated evidences of the wisdom of the ages, in books too costly and profound to be available to most readers; but in these days of rapid note-taking, collating, comparing and compiling from every possible source, a bright and clever writer like Eleanor Kirk can present the salient points of a given subject in a form which even a child can understand and appreciate.

"The Influence of the Zodiac on Human Life" is the clearest, simplest and best compilation of the teachings upon this subject, which has come to my notice. The reader who finds his own genius, his secret foibles, his weaknesses and faults, his capabilities and hindrances clearly described under the head of the particular sign which governed his nativity—easily ascertained by a glance at the descriptive chart on the last page—will derive pleasure and profit in following up the study and proving the truth of the assertions made, by tracing the nativities of others. As the author truly says in her opening chapter on "The Quickening Spirit," the first effect of the knowledge of the domains and signs of the zodiac is the birth of a new charity, adding a new sense; the next effect is the assurance that having found the cause it is possible to find the remedy for the conditions which have thus far ruled our lives and those of our children and friends. For, so far from attributing all to fate and counselling a blind acquiescence in all things because "God hath made them so"—like the bears and lions in the Watts hymn—the author never permits her reader for a moment to lose sight of the great saving truth of "the power of will and the working of wisdom," by which mortal mind can ally itself to Infinite Mind and in such at-one-ment rise above all apparently evil fate and conquer in the Sign which governs all signs—the union of love and wisdom which brings true illumination.

JULIA A. DAWLEY.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"WAS THE APOSTLE PETER EVER AT ROME?" by Rev. Mason Gallagher, D. D. Cloth; pp. 249; price \$1. Published by Hunt & Eaton, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York.

"TOLD IN WHISPERS," by Leigh H. Irvine. Paper; pp. 223. Published by the Crown Publishing Company, 110 Astor Place, New York.

"ROSES AND THISTLES," by Rufus C. Hopkins. Cloth; pp. 480; price \$2, \$2.25 by mail. Published by William Doxey, 631 Market Street, San Francisco, Cal.

"THE WELFARE PROBLEM SOLVED," by Leonidas Connell. Paper; pp. 153; price 25 cents. Published by the Author, Chicago.

"THE BACHELOR OF THE MIDWAY," by St. George Rathborne. Paper; pp. 314; price 50 cents. Published by the Mascot Publishing Company, New York.

"RAGNAROK," by Ignatius Donnelly. Cloth; pp. 452. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York.

"OUR NOTIONS OF NUMBER AND SPACE," by Herbert Nichols, Ph. D. Cloth; pp. 201. Published by Ginn & Co., Publishers, Boston.

"THE RED SULTAN," by J. Maclaren Cobban. Paper; pp. 315. Published by Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago and New York.

"DISCOURSES, BIOLOGICAL AND GEOLOGICAL." Essays. Volume VIII. By T. H. Huxley. Cloth; pp. 388. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York.

"THE PHILOSOPHY OF HERBERT SPENCER," by William Henry Hudson. Cloth; pp. 234. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York.

"PRACTICAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR HEALTH AND HEALING," by W. J. Colville. Paper; pp. 16; price 10c. Published by the Author, Hartford, Conn.

"STEPPING STONES TO HEALTH," by W. J. Colville. Paper; pp. 56; price 15c. Published by E. M. Sill, Hartford, Conn.

"SEEKING THE KINGDOM," by Charles Brodie Patterson. Cloth; pp. 132; price 50c. Published by the Author, Hartford, Conn.

"CURE OF DISEASE SIMPLIFIED," by Mary Ries Melendy. Cloth; pp. 368; price \$1.75. Published by National Purity Association, Chicago, Ill.

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UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS.**UNION WORK.**

THE Union for Practical Progress has now been in existence a little over six months. During that time more than twenty-one centres have been established. Active and remarkably gratifying work has been carried on in many of our great cities, while in many others fine Unions have been formed and will start into the field early in autumn for vigorous, progressive work. Hundreds of sermons have been preached on the Union subjects. Scores of columns have appeared in the great dailies of our cities devoted to the amalgamating of the forces of progress and reform and to abstracts of lectures and discourses given on Union subjects. At least two important state laws in Maryland, one abolishing the sweating evil and the other child labor, are due to the work of the Unions in that state.

During the summer months the work in the cities will necessarily, to an extent, be suspended, but in all the centres preparations are going on, so that in autumn there will be started, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the most aggressive, and in many ways the most promising, campaign ever inaugurated, looking toward securing justice for all the people and uniting and solidifying the forces for progress. Letters from remote quarters of the world show that the plan is receiving serious attention in foreign parts, and we should not be surprised if in the autumn Unions are formed in Adelaide and Melbourne, Australia, and in New Zealand and Japan. This great work calls for the union of head, hand and heart of all who love the people.

Although quite a number of one-dollar pledges have been received for our lecture-ship bureau, not nearly so many have come in as should have. No one will be called on to pay these pledges until one thousand have been subscribed. As soon as that number has been received friends will be notified, and the entire amount will be used in placing efficient organizers in the field to form strong Unions at various places. When one remembers what has been accomplished in the last few months, and also considers the immense good that must necessarily result from the simultaneous action of the moral forces from one end of the republic to the other, he will readily see how important a small contribution may be. Many of our readers could afford to sign fifty or one hundred pledges; some could sign ten, others five, and surely several thousand could sign for one dollar. I know if it were possible to carry home to the hearts of those who read *THE ARENA* the responsibility resting on each soul and the possibility of good which this great work offers, not only would the one thousand pledges come in, but many times one thousand. Friends, let us see to it that by September 1, fully one thousand one-dollar pledges are in. Let the ensuing winter mark a new epoch in the cause of humanity, resulting from a union of the moral forces for the triumph of altruism.

NEWS NOTES FROM THE FIELD.

The National Secretary, Rev. Harry C. Vrooman, addressed the Ministerial Association, August 13, at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., on the work of our Union. Sunday, Aug. 12, he filled the pulpit of the Regent Street Baptist Church, of which Rev. E. T. Hiscox is pastor. His theme was "The Social Ideal of Christianity." In the evening he occupied the Congregational pulpit of Rev. C. F. Swift, speaking from the topic, "The New Redemption."

Rev. Walter Vrooman presented the cause of the Union for Practical Progress before the Young Ladies' Club at Chautauqua.

Prof. Thomas E. Will, secretary of the Boston Union, addressed the Summer School at Greenacre, Eliot, Me., on the subject of Union for Practical Progress, July 9, and Rev. Harry C. Vrooman addressed the same audience, July 12, on "The Material Expression of the Spiritual Age." Greenacre will be a strong centre for reform thought.

People's University. — In a previous issue we noted that a block of land in Woburn had been given on which to establish a People's University. Later the Summer School in Maine, tendered the use of its property, including two large buildings capable of rooming one hundred fifty students, for the same purpose.

Other educational interests, representing at least five different channels of progressive thought and activity, reaching back for years and embodying every phase of progressive educational work, have been drawn by the magnetic centralizing agency of the Union for Practical Progress, to a single focus. Now a People's University Association has been formed to embody these educational privileges and give to the world a People's University indeed. Correspondence and University Extension courses will be given in every department of study.

A special training school for Christian-sociological workers will be started at once at Eliot, Me. Negotiations are on foot for a similar school, with an industrial attachment, in the extreme South. We hope to receive sufficient encouragement to start similar radical Christian training schools at points in the Central and extreme Western States.

The present organization is provisional, but by October 1, we expect to be incorporated, and to have the Correspondence and Extension courses in working operation. The present board of managers is: B. O. Flower, editor of *THE ARENA*; Rev. R. E. Bisbee, secretary U. P. P., Newburyport, Mass.; Miss Sarah J. Farmer, Eliot, Me.; A. Wiswall, Woburn, Mass., treasurer; Albert A. Wright, D. D., Auburndale, Mass. dean of the Correspondence Department; Harry C. Vrooman, secretary.

The first Christian Institute, under the auspices of the People's University Association, was held August 1-5 at Cornville, Me. Rev. E. S. Stackpole had charge of the Bible classes; Rev. R. E. Bisbee presented the nineteenth century gospel; Rev. Harry C. Vrooman lectured daily on Applied Christianity and Social Science. The results of the work were extremely encouraging.

The Union in Columbia, S. C., reports steady and increasing progress. The ministers of the city are somewhat slow in taking hold, but the membership of the Union increases at every meeting. The August topic of "Prison Reform" is one of especial interest in this place. A great effort is being made by the Union to bring to bear reform ideas on the penal institutions of this place. They have met regularly twice a month since their organization.

Now is the time for plans for winter lectures. Our lecture bureau is making provision for an elaborate campaign this fall and winter. With a little snap and work almost every town can organize a monthly lecture series, and many can sell tickets enough to pay the expenses of the same. To do so, requires personal canvassing for funds or sale of tickets. Very often the expenses of the lecturer may be greatly reduced by securing him a hearing in some neighboring locality. With a little extra work on the part of the local Unions we should be able to send lecturers on live social topics to every Union for Practical Progress each month of the fall and winter.

Providence Union.—The Union for Practical Progress in Providence has made considerable progress since its organization, May 16.

It has now a complete organization, as follows: Executive committee—Dr. L. F. C. Garvin, Robert Grieve, Mrs. Isabelle MacLean, John H. Cook, Sidney A. Sherman; vice-presidents—E. Benjamin Andrews, D. D., LL. D., president Brown University; Rev. Henry M. King, D. D., pastor First Baptist Church; M. J. Harson (leading Catholic layman); Augustine Jones, principal Friends' School (prominent in city reform work); Hon. Henry B. Metcalf (Prohibition leader in this state); Rev. Napoleon S. Hoagland, pastor Fourth Unitarian Church; secretary, Sidney A. Sherman, Providence High School; assistant secretary, William H. S. Pittenger (doing excellent work); treasurer, William P. Goodwin, secretary Merchants Insurance Co. and treasurer Beneficent Congregational Church; advisory board—George G. Wilson, Ph. D., professor of Political and Social Science, Brown University; Rev. H. Clinton Hay, pastor New Jerusalem Church; Rev. John Hale Larey, pastor Free Evangelical Congregational Church and editor *Independent Citizen*; Dr. Helen C. Putnam (young and strong); Mrs. Fanny Purdy Palmer, factory inspector of Rhode Island; Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, pastor Bell Street Chapel (recognized leader in reform work); A. B. McCrillis (prominent business man); Rev. F. E. Tower, pastor Pearl Street Baptist Church; John Francis Smith (radical reformer); E. L. Gannon, Master Workman Dis. 99, K. of L.; Richard McGuy (labor organizer, leader of prolonged strike here last year); Louis Kranz, Union for Christian Work.

A constitution was adopted some time ago, but it is expected to make some slight changes in it at the next meeting. The election of a president will be deferred until the autumn.

We have sent circulars and bibliography of the July subject, "Parks and Playgrounds for Children," to about seventy ministers, although our time was rather short. We secured outlines or sermons from at least thirteen clergymen. A committee has been appointed on open-air meetings on the same subject. We expect to have some right away.

With the coöperation of the Free Kindergarten Association we are establishing several playgrounds for children in poorer quarters of the city, and expect to open at least the first one by July 15; are only awaiting action of city council committee in giving us use of schoolhouse yards and basements. This work is in the hands of a committee consisting of Mrs. Alfred Stone, delegated by Free Kindergarten Association, John E. Kendrick, a prominent member of the city council, identified with the city's educational work and United States marshal for this district, and the secretary of the U. P. P.

We have received the personal assurance of sympathy from the editors of our three leading daily papers, and of several weeklies. The *Sunday Journal* (July 8) contained a well-written two-column account of the national and local organization, contributed by Mr. Grieve of our executive committee. All of yesterday's papers had from a half to a whole column of reports of Sunday's sermons, which is much more than the usual attention given.

We are already getting out the bibliography for next month at our public library, and are taking steps toward the serious work of the autumn in municipal reform. Everything points to a large and enthusiastic board of delegates in September. We have sixty-six members, representing every shade of religious and economic opinion.

Mr. Pittenger has been employed as our *paid* assistant secretary for the last two weeks and will continue so for some time. His pay does not represent the value of his labor, however, for he puts in all his own personal devotion to the work, and is singularly successful.

SIDNEY A. SHERMAN, Secretary.

The Providence Union for Practical Progress elects its executive committee by proportional representation, and the committee seems favorably inclined towards that reform as one of the practical objects to be accomplished in that city.

THE NATIONAL TREASURER'S APPEAL FOR ONE DOLLAR PLEDGES.

The National Union for Practical Progress, although so young, has accomplished much. THE ARENA is now seconded by *The Voice* of New York, and *Public Opinion* of Washington is giving generous notices of our Union work. *The Voice* publishes able symposiums and news notes.

I am informed that the president of the Baltimore Union for Public Good, Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte, who is also a member of the executive committee of the National Union for Practical Progress, drafted a bill against the sweating evil, and with the aid of the Union and Arena Auxiliary Club the measure has become a law. The Union and Auxiliary were also instrumental in securing a law against child labor.

The agitation of the sweating system in Philadelphia has been carried on so vigorously by our Philadelphia Union under the splendid and effective direction of Miss Diana Hirschler, that if a new law is not secured this year it is safe to predict that a bill will pass at the next session. Many columns have been given to this work in the Philadelphia papers, and a strong public sentiment has been worked up.

From all parts of the land come calls for organizers and literature. The harvest is white, but the money required to put the earnest and willing workers into the vineyard is wanting. In view of what has been done, and keeping in mind the gravity of social and economic conditions to-day, I feel that a great and sacred obligation rests with every one to help on this work. Do not, O friends, run the risk of waking up in eternity with blood stains on your souls due to your indifference to a movement so practical and beneficent in character, which will do more than aught else to prevent the slaughter of human lives.

I do not ask anything unreasonable, but wish to submit a plan with which I believe almost every reader of these lines can comply, and which will enable us to put lecturers and organizers in the field and supply various cities and towns with literature, so that within a year we shall have a union of the moral forces in every town and village from the Atlantic to the Pacific. I earnestly desire the reader to bear in mind that these lines are addressed

TO YOU.

The plan is as follows: I desire you to send in at once your pledge to pay one dollar to the National Educational Fund, to enable us to put organizers and lecturers in the field immediately and to keep them there, and to distribute literature giving directions for the formation of unions and outlining work. I earnestly urge *you* to fill out the following blank. You will not be called on for the money until *one thousand* pledges have been received. If you desire to pledge more than one dollar I believe it will be the best disbursement of money you will ever make, because I believe it will go farther toward hastening The New Day than if expended in any other way.

The Subscription Pledge.

I hereby subscribe one dollar to the Fund for the National Lectureship of the Union for Practical Progress, and will pay the same on demand when the National Treasurer shall have received one thousand similar subscriptions.

I also hereby agree to pay one dollar annually to the same subscription fund.

Signed.....

City.....

Street Number.....

County.....

State.....

When you have filled out your pledge and forwarded it to us, see if you cannot get some friend to follow your example.* If they know you have signed and forwarded your pledge, it will have a good influence on them. There is nothing like showing faith by works. The Arena office has opened this subscription by signing for twenty one-dollar pledges.

Now friends, in the name of the great republic, in the name of peace and a higher civilization, in the name of human brotherhood and for the cause of justice and progress, will you not help us to the extent of at least one dollar?

PLEDGES RECEIVED FOR UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS.

Nebraska, \$3; Massachusetts, 2; Minnesota, 3; New York, 5; Ohio, 1; Texas, 1; Alabama, 1; California, 18; Pennsylvania, 5; Illinois, 5; New Hampshire, 1; Vermont, 2; Tennessee, 1; Colorado, 1; New Jersey, 1; District of Columbia, 1; Virginia, 1; Michigan, 2; Indiana, 1; Florida, 1; Kansas, 1; South Carolina, 1; Washington, 1; Iowa, 1; Rhode Island, 1; Missouri, 1. Total, \$62.

Total receipts from the States for June, \$67; July, 74; August, 62. Total, \$203.

MONEY RECEIVED JUNE AND JULY, 1894.

D. W. Whittle, Albany, N. Y., \$1; C. W. Matthews, Lexington, Ky., 5; Frank S. Channell, Malone, N. Y., 1; C. F. Taylor, Philadelphia, Pa., 5; a friend, Evanstown, Ill., 2; a friend, Sydney, Neb., 5; A. M., Boston, Mass., 1. Total, \$20.

UNION FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS LECTURE BUREAU.

No department of the work of the Union for Practical Progress is of greater importance than its Lecture Bureau. In the interest of this bureau the national committee proposes to come into friendly relations, through correspondence, with the various reform agencies in every city, town and village of America.

By arranging carefully planned routes for the lecturers and keeping them busy five or six nights each week, and by a system of frequent stops, thus avoiding long-distance rides, the expense can be reduced to a minimum, and the best talent can be placed within reach of the smallest towns and villages everywhere. There is no reason why our Union Bureau cannot be made the most extensive and perfect lecture bureau in the world. Now is the time for churches, reform societies, radical clubs and interested individuals everywhere to correspond with us concerning speakers, dates and terms.

During the summer months it may be well to arrange out-of-door mass meetings wherever possible. But the great educational campaign will begin in September. It is our intention by that time to have routes planned for lecturers and organizers in the extreme Western and Southern states, as well as in the Eastern cities, and it is desirable that the dates be fixed as far ahead as possible. Among the lecturers who have already been engaged for the coming season by this bureau are the following:—

1. Hamlin Garland—author, poet, reformer. His lectures deal especially with economics and the causes of poverty.

2. Duren J. H. Ward, D. D., A. M., Ph. D. (titles from Hillsdale, Harvard and Leipsic Universities respectively), for two years Travelling Fellow of Harvard University in Europe, recently lecturer at Harvard on the History of Philosophy, for three seasons lecturer on Anthropology in Harvard Summer School, superintendent Working-men's School, New York, member of New York Academy of Anthropology and founder of the Evolution Lectureship, which has for its object the spread of the scientific attitude by sermons from the standpoint of modern natural science.

3. Prof. George D. Herron, occupying the chair of Applied Christianity in Iowa College, and author of "The New Redemption" and "The Christian Society."

4. Rev. E. T. Root, Baltimore, Md.

5. Rev. S. W. Sample, Minneapolis, Minn., an eloquent, intensely earnest and deep student of social questions.

6. Rev. Alexander Kent, pastor of the People's Church, Washington, D. C., a strong, logical speaker.

7. W. D. McCrackan, A. M., author, Boston. Especially familiar with everything that relates to the Swiss methods of government, such as the referendum, the initiative, and proportional representation.

8. Prof. D. S. Holman of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Science, the celebrated microscopist and inventor of the tele-microscope and other scientific instruments. A special card where a pay lecture could be arranged and made to cover the entire cost of his visit. With his wonderful tele-microscope he reveals the

* We will send as many blanks as you desire.

marvels of science on canvas so that they can be understood by children. He also shows the beauties of art and nature in an entirely new and fascinating manner by means of his instrument, explained in a scholarly and interesting way. He can either give his feast in the wonderland of science, and during the same evening present the objects of the new movement, or he can deliver a pay lecture the first night followed by a social reform mass meeting upon the next.

9. Percy M. Reese, the celebrated lecturer on Roman art. His lectures on "Rome and America" and "Slavery Old and New," illustrated with stereopticon, cannot help producing the most vivid impressions on any audience, and convincing them that the basis of American civilization is being destroyed by the same evils that caused the downfall of Rome.

10. Miss Diana Hirschler, president of the Young Women's Arena Club of Philadelphia.

11. Four of the six Vrooman brothers, Revs. Harry, Walter and Hiram, and Mr. Carl Vrooman. Men who are earnest and zealous for a new and higher civilization; they can occupy a Christian pulpit, a secular platform, or a stand for an out-of-door mass meeting with equal ease, thoroughly conversant with every phase of the great social problem. They speak entirely extemporaneously, and have the peculiar gift of contagious enthusiasm.

12. Prof. Frank Parsons lectures on "Public Ownership of Monopolies," "What shall We Do with the Slums," "Poverty's Causes and Its Cure," "The Liquor Traffic and the Gothenburg System," "The Initiative and Referendum, Woman Suffrage, Proportional Representation and Multiple Voting," "Sound Finance," "The Gospel of Industrial Redemption" and "The Philosophy of Mutualism."

13. Rev. Flavius J. Brobst, 302 Warren Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Address all communications in this line to U. P. P. Lecture Bureau, Room 16, Pierce Building, Copley Square, Boston, Mass.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The Religion of Walt Whitman.

THE series of papers dealing with the "Religion of our Latter-day Poets," by Rev. Minot J. Savage and Rev. W. H. Savage, has proved something more than a happy thought. The series has been one of the most attractive published in THE ARENA for a long time. It has proved that religion is incontestably woven into the web and woof of the thought of our greatest poets, and it has put the study of their works in a new light for hundreds of readers. The series has been widely discussed in literary circles throughout the country; and the opening paper of the present issue deserves a most careful reading. The fact that Mr. M. J. Savage allows Whitman to speak largely for himself detracts nothing from his purpose, for no one can read these splendid passages and not throb with sympathy for the uplifting grandeur of the poet's religion. This reverence and faith and hope was indeed a religion for men claiming something of divinity.

A good many people dipping at random into the two formidable-looking volumes containing Walt Whitman's complete works are repelled by passages which, thus taken at random, seem coarse or difficult. This is unfortunate; but no one can read the passages so aptly and compactly quoted by Mr. Savage without stirring to their grand music and majesty of thought. One obtains a more vivid realization of Whitman's essential grandeur and greatness in such compact quotation, and can then open the complete works with more assurance and sympathy. It is a great soul we learn to know in these poems of life and death; and as to Whitman's place in our poetry — what is the place and award of all great and truly religious thought? It is in the flame-pure souls of those who read not as literary critics, but to touch life.

Election of Senators and the President by Popular Vote.

THE history of the present administration is showing the prime weaknesses of our system of government as they have not been shown in a great many years. There are critical moments in the history of all political institutions, when, after many years of apparent effectiveness and harmlessness, they suddenly betray their fatal flaws in the hands of ambitious and unscrupulous men. The United States Senate has long been an offence against the people, and President Cleveland, more than any other executive, has revealed the perils of investing the head of the government with powers so anomalous as he possesses in this democracy. As Judge Clark, in his essay published herewith, points out:—

The weakness of our government is in the overwhelming weight of the executive, and its constant tendency to grow. A popular, strong and ambitious man in the chair would practically exercise all the functions of the government.

Recent events have shown the dangers to the rights of the people arising from the enormous patronage in the hands of the executive, and with no safeguard but *his* judgment. It is absurd that so much power should be vested in one man in a democracy. It is a survival of autocratic monarchy, which is now scotched and stripped in Great Britain. As Governor Altgeld has pointed out, the power asserted by President Cleveland to invade states with military forces at his pleasure, is the practical denial of the rights of states to home rule. In a few weeks we have made great political strides toward Cæsarism pure and simple. And as Judge Clark, writing in the most conservative spirit, says:—

He can by the use of the enormous patronage vested in him [the executive] compel legislation which he favors as fully as he can prevent legislative action by his veto. This has been suffi-

ciently demonstrated in the passage of the act repealing the Sherman law.

It is to be remembered as a noteworthy commentary on this that one of the congressmen made a statement on the floor of the House that he had been approached by emissaries of the government with promises of reward for his vote; and also that Clifton R. Breckenridge, who disgraced himself by violating his pledges to his electors, has been made minister to Russia as a reward for his tergiversation, since he forfeited a renomination.

Judge Clark, from his position as associate justice of the supreme court of North Carolina, cannot be considered by any just minds as being at all the sort of man to make damaging statements for the sake of creating a sensation, and yet his view of the dangers of the immense patronage in the hands of the president is that it perverts both legislation and the functions of the judiciary. He advocates three reforms—the elimination of the veto power; the election of senators by the people; and the suppression of presidential patronage. To what depths of corruption and apathy to popular opinion the Senate can sink, under the existing system of election by the money power, the history of this administration affords damning proof. The fundamental factor in the diffusion of a proper respect for law in a modern democracy must be the character of the law makers and the laws they make. From this point of view the Democratic administration has signally proved its incapacity and its inherent dishonesty. And the strong indorsement by the Republicans of the most audacious and corrupt acts of the administration but once again proves to all thinking men that both the Democratic and the Republican parties have outlived their usefulness. The game of politics they play is the game of the robber barons of our civilization, and the whole machinery of government is debased to serve the purpose of exploiting the millions. Such a word as Judge Clark's is spoken in good season.

Some Truths about the High Schools.

There are very few of our institutions which plutocracy cannot pervert to its own interests, but probably few American taxpayers are aware of the evils which exist in the heart of our educational system, making it serve the interests of the few at the expense of the many. Mr. Charles S. Smart's paper in this number will be a surprise to many, and a sign to others that these evils of which they have long been cognizant are likely to be ventilated. Mr. Smart was the state superintendent of the public schools of Ohio, so that he is fully informed of all the ins and outs of school management, and his main contention is significant. He says that the primary and graded schools are made to serve the purposes of preparatory schools to the high schools, to the detriment of the pupils who never expect to enter the high schools at all because of the necessity of their going to work. This is also to the disadvantage of the general cause of education because it encourages superficiality. This is one of the grave faults of the whole of our present system of education, popular or otherwise. Mr. Smart rightly holds that it is of the first importance in a democracy that the essentials of a good common English education should be imparted to all, and anything which interferes with this for the benefit of the few is a detriment to the welfare of the social whole. He states that already there is a tendency among the school children and their parents to regard the high school as an institution for the privileged few. Less than three per cent of the school children enter the high schools and less than one per cent are graduated. On the other hand Mr. Smart states that about ninety per cent of the school funds are spent upon the high schools—a figure somewhat disproportionate with the number of children benefited. The ninety-seven per cent of school children get a less thorough and useful education in order that the three per cent may be fitted for the high schools and one per cent for the universities. The question is, after reading these interesting figures, What class of children

derives the most benefit from the school funds? This looks something like a parody of popular education.

Municipal Reform.

The symposium in this issue on "Municipal Reform" should be read by all who have the interests of good government at heart, and are anxious to see the enormous disgrace of the existing rings of rascals, selling the liberties and rights and conveniences of their fellow citizens, swept away. The papers on this subject constitute one of the most important phases of THE ARENA's work, and such discussions as these, if they can only reach and interest the average citizen and induce him to study up the question for himself a little, will do an immense amount of good. Professor Will is one of the most able and competent students of political economy and sociology we have to-day, and his work alone will make the bound volumes of this magazine of incomparable value to the student of our social problems.

Dr. Lucius F. C. Garvin's paper on "How to Effect Municipal Reform" shows how some of the evils of our city government can be mitigated by the adoption of the simplest form of proportional representation, the "single vote," which in many states is the only form which can be adopted without first amending the state constitution.

These two papers, with Mr. Will's bibliography of the general subject, are of the greatest educational value. There is scarcely any line of social effort that offers greater reward in the thought of work done for the permanent good of the whole of society than this of purifying the sink of our municipal politics. Education on the question of obtaining some real relation between the voting and the representation, as is proposed in proportional representation, will do much to cure the evils.

A Review of the Chicago Strike of '94.

A great deal has been said and written about the Chicago strike, but Mr. Walter Blackburn Harte's review in this issue is the only paper we have seen which

actually considers the rights and principles of law and citizenship involved in the conflict. Other papers which have appeared in the various magazines are interesting, but they have been wholly lacking in this essential analysis. They have all been written from the standpoint that the only matter to be discussed was the infraction of certain municipal and state laws for the preservation of the peace and the protection of property. The attitude of the government has been for the most part accepted without question.

The only thing necessary to say about the burning of cars, etc., is that the offenders should have been duly tried by the properly constituted authorities, and if found guilty in the regular and ordinary course of criminal procedure, punished according to and in the degree of the law. The principles involved in the strike then remain wholly unaffected by this extrinsic matter, for calm examination and analysis, in the light of the rights of citizenship guaranteed under the common law and the constitution. This is the scope of Mr. Harte's paper; and he is, we believe, the only writer on the question who has approached it in this philosophic temper. All the utterances of the partisan and plutocratic writers have purposely confused the question of the passage of the mails with the real issue, which does not concern the mails or the United States Government at all. Mr. Harte's paper is long, owing to the thoroughness with which he has deemed it necessary to establish the constitutional rights of labor, in the face of the strange position assumed by Attorney General Olney and President Cleveland; but the paper, apart from its immediate objects, is crisp and witty enough to be good literature even to those who may condemn it as bad politics.

Early Environment in Home Life.

In this paper the Editor of THE ARENA makes a plea for a larger measure of sanity and justice in the treatment of children. To any keen observer of human life there is scarcely any fact more tragic than the number of young

people who, from the natural curiosity of puberty, step at once out of ignorance into corruption, while their parents and guardians dissemble facts that should be frankly explained. The only way to keep the minds of children pure and healthy is by intelligent and careful interpretation of the facts of human life. There is nothing so corrupting, if parents could only learn to realize it, as the social atmosphere of secrecy and mystery which is maintained about some of the most important and far reaching factors of individual and social welfare. As one of the keenest observers of our civilization has said, "The ignorance of children fills the brothels." It is time that educated men and women learned to act with greater discretion and discrimination in their attitude toward those in their charge. It is time that education in such essential departments of knowledge should not be senselessly interdicted by imbecile postal blue laws, made to pander to the narrow prejudices of merely deluded and ignorant bigots. The welfare of the many demands that questions of such vital importance shall not be suppressed. We must learn to discern the difference between obscenity and necessary knowledge of moral and physical hygiene.

Astrological Forecast of the Administration of President Cleveland.

We wish to draw the attention of our readers to Mr. Julius Erickson's astrological forecast, made at the moment when Mr. Grover Cleveland took the oath of office. As is explained in the note appended to the article by the Editor of this review, precautions were taken at the time to preserve an historical record of the forecast, so that there can be no criticism of its genuineness. In the light of recent events, and current political dissension between the executive and the Senate, this forecast made on March 4, 1893, will be read with interest.

The Message of Mount Lowe.

The readers of THE ARENA who have at different times read poems in these

pages from the pen of James G. Clark will find much to delight them in this, his latest work.

Human Tenderness for Animals.

Dr. Albert Leffingwell's paper, "An Ethical Basis for Humanity to Animals," cannot fail to appeal to the hearts and imaginations of our readers. The general sentiment toward those dumb beasts who contribute so much to our comfort and convenience, and in the case of dogs we think to the higher pleasures of our affections, is much more creditable to us to-day than it was only a few years back; but there is still much to be wished for.

Occult Science in Thibet.

Dr. Heinrich Hensoldt will continue in the October ARENA the series of papers on "Occult Science in Thibet" which have attracted such widespread attention and led to so much discussion in many quarters.

Plutoocracy's Bastilles.

The Editor of THE ARENA will present in the October number an exhaustive study, with estimates and statistics, of the progress of militarism in the United States, in relation to current social events. It is called "Plutoocracy's Bastilles; or why the Republic is Becoming an Armed Camp." It will be fully illustrated with pictures of the great castles that are so rapidly rising in every large city of the Union. It is certainly significant that the hereditary aristocracies of Europe are allowing their battlemented homes to fall into ruins, and are using the materials for the building of ordinary dwellings, while in democratic America mediæval castles are being built in the very heart of our greatest cities. John Ruskin once said he would not visit America because there were no castles here. There were none when he wrote, and Americans had reason to thank God for the fact. In a few years Europeans who have a taste for mediæval castles will have to come to American cities, New York and Boston, to find them. The castles of Europe are mostly mere

ruins now, and they will never be built again. In the United States plutocracy has got a frenzy of "Castle Murder" building.

The Unemployed.

Prof. Thomas E. Will, A. M., has prepared for the October ARENA a splendid study on the above subject for the use of the Union students and others, who wish to obtain some definite scientific grasp of this vital question. The bibliography in connection with it is of the greatest permanent value, as such a wide range of authorities and reading is impossible to any one who has not devoted a life of study to economic science. All this great labor of adventuring among the library lists is saved for the reader, who can with this accumulation of *data* make himself master of the subject.

A Symposium of Women on the Land Question.

Under the general heading of "What the Land Question Means to Me," we shall publish in the October number a symposium of opinions on the land question by women, eminent in various lines of thought and representing the three great divisions of the English speaking people. The symposium will comprise the following: "The Fundamental Reform," Estella B. Brokaw; "Socialism and Individualism Harmonized," A. A. Chapman; "The Solution of the Labor

Problem," Sarah Mifflin Gay; "Political Economy Based on Justice," Julia A. Kellogg; "Individual Freedom and Social Well Being," Frances M. Milne; "A Broad Basis for Brotherhood," Frances E. Russell; "Relation of the Land Question to Equitable Representation," Catherine H. Spence; "Land Must Be Free that We May Live," Charlotte P. Stetson; "Respect for God's Laws and for All His Children," Eliza Stowe Twitchell; "A Fabian on the Land Question," Beatrice Webb; "The Centrifugal Reform," Lona I. Robinson.

Of these Mrs. Frances E. Russell of St. Paul, Minn., is the chairman of the National Council of Women of the United States, Mrs. Brokaw is the wife of the editor of the St. Louis *Courier*, Mrs. Spence is the lady who came to us from Australia a little while ago, and produced such a profound sensation with her lectures in Chicago and elsewhere on "Proportional Representation," and Mrs. Webb is the wife and collaborator of Mr. Sidney Webb, the well known London Fabian. Mr. and Mrs. Webb are now engaged in writing one of the monumental social books of our time, a book that will take its place beside Marx's "Capital,"—"The History of Trade Unionism." In the group of American contributors almost every section is represented, so that as far as such symposiums can represent class opinion, this will be of great importance, and certainly of interest to women of all shades of political and social belief.

LAWYERS' DIRECTORY.

Each member of the following list of attorneys has been recommended as thoroughly reliable and of good standing in his profession.

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